The Outlook

OCTOBER 20, 1920

THE RIGHT TO BOLT

THE proverbial man from Mars would find much to excite his satirical amusement in a Presidential campaign on this planet. He would be struck with the almost childlike enthusiasm or seriousness with which political partisans treat incidents of comparative unimportance in the struggle for electoral votes. A distinguished Democrat, for instance, announces that he intends to vote for Harding or an equally distinguished Republican that he proposes to bolt his party ticket and support Cox. Whereupon the newspaper headlines are magnified as if the fate of the Nation were at stake.

Two weeks ago Mr. Benedict Crowell, recently Assistant Secretary of War in the Wilson Administration and one of the most efficient members of that Administration, announced that he would support Mr. Harding's candidacy. Last week Mr. Herbert Parsons, a lifelong Republican, active in both the National and State councils of the party, for five years Chairman of the New York County Republican Committee and later member of the Republican National Committee, declared that he had decided to abandon his party affiliations and would vote for Mr. Cox.

The newspapers treated these incidents as if they were unprecedented and epoch-making. On the contrary, such changes of political opinion are the ordinary occurrence of every political campaign. Mr. Crowell and Mr. Parsons have simply exercised the right of private judgment—a fundamental political right of every American citizen. Indeed, it is only because thousands of American voters do every four years what these two gentlemen have just done that the political pendulum swings now towards a Republican and now towards a Democratic President. Otherwise the only way in which a party out of power could obtain administrative control would be by increasing its birth rate.

The really important thing about the action of Mr. Crowell and Mr. Parsons is not that they have exchanged party affiliations, but that each has stated clearly what he considers to be the primary issue of the campaign. Mr. Crowell believes that the first thing for the American people to do is to reorganize the Government at Washington and put it upon an efficient basis, and that they cannot do this through the agency of the Democratic party. Mr. Parsons is of the opinion that the prime duty of the American people is to ratify the Paris Covenant of the League of Nations without any radical modifications, and that this can be done only through the agency of the Democratic party.

THE PRESIDENT AND SENATOR SPENCER

ANOTHER tempest in the political teapot has been stirred up by a controversy between President Wilson and Senator Spencer, of Missouri. The

Paul Thompson

U. S. SENATOR SELDEN P. SPENCER, OF MISSOURI

Senator in a campaign speech asserted that the President in Paris had promised Rumania and Serbia that the United States would send her armies and navies to protect them if the League of Nations should be established. The President declared this assertion to be false, and a statement has been given out at the White House which gives the authorized text of what the President said during an argument at the Versailles Peace Conference, in which he was endeavoring to persuade Serbia and Rumania to abandon some of their demands which he regarded as unreasonable. In the course of the speech, in the words authorized by the White House, the President said:

> We need not close our eyes to the fact that in the last analysis the military and naval strength of the great Powers will be the final guarantee of the peace of the world. . . .
>
> How can a Power like the United States, for example—for I can speak for no other—after signing this Treaty, if it contains elements which they do not believe will be permanent, go three thousand miles away across the sea and report to its people that it has made a settlement of the peace of the world? It cannot do so. And yet there underlies all of these transactions the expectation on the part, for example, of Rumania, and of Czechoslovakia, and of Serbia, that if any covenants of this settlement are not observed, the United States will send her armies and her navies to see that they are observed.
>
> In those circumstances, is it unreasonable that the United States should insist upon being satisfied that the settlements are correct?

It seems to us that the reasonable implication of these words is that if Serbia and Rumania will assent to a correct settlement of the Peace Treaty they may count on military protection from the United States. Nor do we understand why the President is so exercised over Senator Spencer's assertion that Serbia and Rumania were promised the military protection of America if the League should be established. For the President himself has said that Article X is the heart of the League and that under that Article the United States would be morally although not constitutionally bound to protect other League members against territorial aggression. Such protection, in the final analysis, must be military.

It was Mark Twain, we believe, who settled the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy by saying that if William Shakespeare did not write the plays, then they were written by another man of the same name. If the President did not promise Serbia and Rumania military protection on the occasion to which Senator Spencer refers, he certainly made them that promise in Article X.

We have called the matter a tempest in a teapot, for it is not of the slightest importance in this campaign what President Wilson did or did not say to Serbia and Rumania. The important question is, Do the American people want to enter now into a formal mili-

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tary alliance in an endeavor to preserve the peace of the world? Those who do will vote for Governor Cox.

MR. HARDING'S RECENT SPEECHES

In his Western tour the speech of Senator Harding which has attracted most attention was that at Des Moines, Iowa, where, according to the newspaper headlines, he was reported as having "scrapped" the League of Nations. It does not appear, however, from the text of the speech that he has abandoned the position he has taken heretofore; for in that speech we find the following:

> As soon as possible after my election I shall advise with the best minds in the United States . . . to the end that we shall have an association of nations for the promotion of international peace, but one which shall so definitely safeguard our sovereignty and recognize our ultimate and unmortgaged freedom of action that it will have back of it, not a divided and distracted sentiment, but the united support of the American people.

At Omaha Mr. Harding remarked: "Somebody wants to know if I am in accord with Senator Borah, or whether I have promised Senator Johnson to scrap the League." He answered:

> Well, it does not matter whether I am in accord with Senator Borah or not. As a matter of fact, I am not in complete accord with Senator Borah. But as President of the United States I would be in one position and as Senator he would be in another, and I do not pretend that I will control the Senate of the United States when I am President.
>
> Senator Johnson and I have never said anything about scrapping the League. The President scrapped the League himself.

At Kansas City Mr. Harding, as reported, made the following statement concerning Article X:

> This obligation assumed by the signatories of the Covenant is absolute and unqualified. Whenever certain specific circumstances arise, no matter how much we might regret it, we would have to keep our promise or sneak out of it. Let no one be deceived; the choice would be between two things—war and dishonor.
>
> Article X is not only the most dangerous provision in the Covenant, but, in its sinister possibilities, it is the most dangerous proposition ever presented to the American people.

In his Oklahoma City speech Senator Harding paid, as was natural in an oil region, special attention to that industry, and remarked:

> Surely it must give pause to those of us who would like to take a reasonable, practical view of the actual facts in this world to know that, while our Administration has been trying to impose its own copyrighted style of altruism upon all the world, the other great governments have been engaged in something very much like a scramble for the control of petroleum resources everywhere.

In one of his speeches the Senator, in reply to a question from a heckler, "How about the boys over in Germany?" replied, as reported, "They haven't any business there." This statement would seem to mark an intention of abandoning our allies in their task of forcing Germany to respect the terms of her surrender. We trust Mr. Harding was misreported or will explain what he thinks America ought to do to see that Germany does not escape the just consequences of her war upon the world.

MR. HOOVER AND THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

At Indianapolis, on October 9, Herbert Hoover made an important address concerning the League of Nations. He stated that by its platform, by the action of its majority in the Senate, and by Mr. Harding's repeated statements the Republican party was pledged to undertake "to put into living being the principles of an organized association of nations for the preservation of peace." The Republican party, the speaker maintained, could do this better than could the Democratic party. The Republican party has "the skill and constructive ability in its membership" to meet the responsibilities of government, and "if it fails to provide peace on terms that establish an organized international association to prevent war . . . it should and must pay to public opinion the same penalty for that failure which we demand should be paid by the Democratic party." For—

> To have obstinately held up the peace of the world for eighteen months, with its fearful cost to ourselves and millions of helpless people, to have rejected the opportunity of amicable adjustment, . . . is the greatest failure of American statesmanship since the Civil War. . . . The "solemn referendum" is not on the League, it is on the failure of the Democratic party.

As to that failure the speaker pointed out that the "total futility" of the Administration's methods was specially shown in the handling of the sugar problem. "Here is a commodity," said he, "in which the Administration could . . . have supplied the American people . . . at a retail price of not more than twelve cents a pound. As a result of its failure in this single item, our people have paid as high as thirty cents a pound."

Among the responsibilities which will rest on the Republican party in the next four years, according to Mr. Hoover, are the reorganization of the business machinery of our Federal Government and wider vision in the constructive handling of great industrial issues. Mr. Hoover discussed a budget system, the recasting of Government departments, the handling of coal, transportation and power problems, and then named the three tasks of the Republican party:

1. Peace and an association of nations.
2. Reorganized administration.
3. Economic reconstruction.

A FRANCO-ITALIAN UNDERSTANDING

The French President and the Italian Premier recently met at Aix-les-Bains, the well-known watering-place in Savoy. Their friendly attitude (as shown in the illustration on page 312) signifies, we hope, a new feeling between the two peoples. Certainly the French can rely upon M. Barrère, their Ambassador at Rome to make M. Millerand's efforts as efficient as possible.

The French fear the Teutons. Hence they have tried to hem in Germany and Austria in every political and economic way. Certainly they do not favor a union between Germany and Austria.

The Italians fear the Slavs. Hence they have tried to hem in Jugoslavia to her own hinterland without such a port on the Adriatic as Fiume, with its preponderant Italian population in the city proper, and without such less important ports as Zara and Sebenico with their Italian populations.

As the French fear the Teutons, so they show corresponding favor to the Slavs.

As the Italians fear the Slavs, so they show corresponding favor to any Power which will check the Slav wave—now to Rumania, now to Hungary, now even to Austria and Germany.

Where the French, therefore, acted in resentment of German treachery—as in their occupation of the city of Frankfort—they did not have Italian backing.

When the Italians showed resentment—as at the failure of the Paris Peace Conference to give Fiume to them—they did not get French backing (even if M. Clemenceau did publicly dissociate himself from President Wilson's extreme position with regard to that issue).

Since the Paris Conference the two

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

AS SELECTED BY OUTLOOK READERS

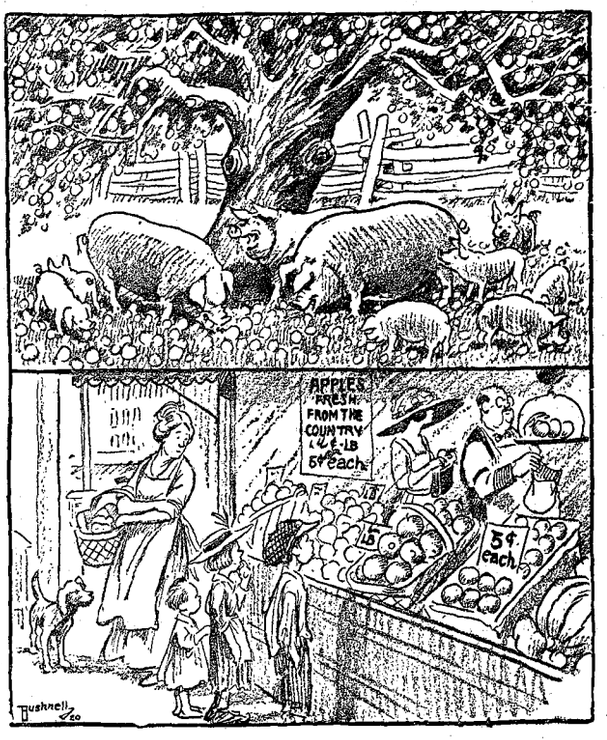
(See offer on page 347)

Lambdin in the Syracuse Herald

HIS IDOL

From W. E. Moyer, Syracuse, N. Y.

Bushnell in the Evansville Courier



THE BUMPER APPLE CROP

From Mrs. C. D. Ehrman, Rockport, Indiana

Williams in the Indianapolis News

TO MARKET!

From Mrs. Edna G. Henry, Indianapolis, Indiana

From the Oakland (California) Tribune

THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

From Emanuel Fritz, Berkeley, California

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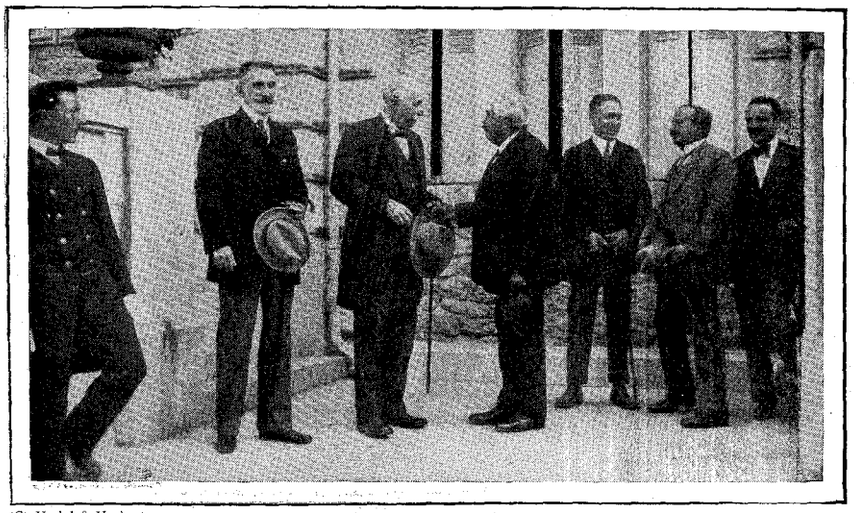

(C) Kadel & Herbert

MEETING OF THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN PREMIERS AT AIX-LES-BAINS

M. Millerand and Signor Giolitti face each other in the center, the latter with hat in hand; M. Barrère, French Ambassador to Italy, is at the left

nations have been growing apart. The French are indignant at any signs of Italian desire to renew relations with Germany, and especially at Italian indulgence towards Bolshevist Russia. Just now the French discern the fine Italian hand behind the revival of talk in Austria favorable to union with Germany. On their part, the Italians assert more loudly than ever that the French are increasingly jealous of Italian prestige in the Mediterranean, apparently growing far more rapidly than theirs—for is not Italy now intrenched on the Tripolitan coast in Africa, on the Adalian coast in Asia Minor, and on the island of Rhodes; and, by her possession of Trieste, Pola, Istria, and some of the islands, has she not really made the Adriatic Sea an Italian lake even without Fiume?

Fortunately for France and Italy, the men at the heads of the two Governments look beyond the things of the moment. They see a future of unrest, perhaps of peril, for Europe unless there is a good understanding between the two foremost Latin countries. Such an understanding, it is announced, was reached at the Aix-les-Bains interview between M. Millerand and Signor Giolitti. It is to the effect that, as to immediately pressing issues, France agrees to give Italy a freer hand as regards Fiume, and Italy agrees to "stay put" as regards Germany and Russia.

THE ARMISTICE BETWEEN POLAND AND THE REDS

THE armistice agreement between the Bolshevist Government and Poland was signed on October 12, to take effect on October 18, and will presumably be followed by a peace treaty in agreement with the armistice terms. The armistice is described by M. Joffe, of the Soviet delegates, as "a peace without victory and without vanquished."

Under the terms of the armistice each Government recognizes the other as having power to make a treaty, and it is agreed that neither shall give support to foreign military action against the other or itself intervene in any way in the internal affairs of the other. A neutral strip of territory of fifteen kilometers is established, and the lines laid down indicate the boundary-lines between Poland and White Russia and the Ukraine. These lines apparently give the cities of Dvinsk to Poland and Rovno to Russia. No financial settlement is included in the armistice agreement. The preliminary peace treaty must be ratified within fifteen days after it is signed. The armistice is for twenty-one days, and if it is not broken after forty-eight hours by either side will renew itself automatically.

All the indications are that Trotsky and Lenine have been anxious for peace on the Polish front, as they well may be, after the reverses of their armies following the brilliant Polish attack which drove a dangerous wedge through the Russian center. Under French military advice, the Poles have abstained from such an advance as would make their own line thin because of too broad extension. They hold an excellent position for defense and for striking at vulnerable Russian points.

One danger of an armistice between Poland and Russia is that it leaves the Reds free to send reinforcements against General Wrangel in the Crimean region. Wrangel has had notable successes, including, according to a late report, the capture of over 25,000 prisoners. France appreciates the danger of Red reinforcements against Wrangel. No doubt it is with that in mind that it is reported that France is sending General Weygand to support and advise General Wrangel, while London despatches state that the British commander of Kut-el-Amara fame, General C. V. F. Townshend, is on his way to the Crimea with the same purpose. Neither France nor Great Britain can afford to see a collapse of the anti-Bolshevist effort in the East.

A singular incident is the occupation of Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, by an "outlaw" or insurrectionist army—made up of Lithuanian regiments of the Polish army (that is, as we understand it, Lithuanians by nationality but Poles by race) who believe that Vilna should belong to Poland or should at least have the right of self-determination. This was all but simultaneous with the Polish announcement that negotiations with Lithuania concerning an armistice and a line of demarcation between the armies of the two countries had been concluded. The situation at Vilna is in some ways comparable to that brought about by d'Annunzio at Fiume.

THE ENGLISH PRIME MINISTER ON THE IRISH SITUATION

MR. LLOYD GEORGE took the occasion of a recent address in Wales to speak very definitely on the Irish situation. He does not believe in Viscount Grey's Irish Dominion plan; he rejects the idea of complete Irish independence, and he declares:

> You cannot permit the country to be debased into a condition of complete anarchy, where a small body of assassins, real murder gangs, are dominating the country and terrorizing it, and making it impossible for reasonable men to come together to consider the best way of governing their country.

What, then, is his constructive plan? He insists that the Home Rule Bill now before Parliament will be carried through by the Coalition, and that it is the best and fairest programme available. Mr. Asquith may call it "a paltry compromise," but it gives the Irish people control of education, of courts, of licensing, of most taxation, of housing, of railways, of land receipts, and of much else.

As to the Dominion plan, Mr. Lloyd George declared that Dominion Home Rule without power to have an army and navy would be a farce, and that an Irish army and navy meant conscription in England, for "you cannot have an army of 500,000 or 600,000 men in Ireland, commanded by Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins, who vowed destruc-

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tion to this country, and only an army of about 100,000 here." Ireland, he pointed out, was a serious peril in the World War. "And we are to trust to luck in our next war! Was there ever such lunacy proposed by anybody?" Nor could he find "a single Irishman who has authority to speak for his countrymen who will say that he accepts Dominion Home Rule."

Much curiosity had existed as to what the Prime Minister would say about the "reprisals" in Ireland. He made a scathing indictment of the murdering and wounding of 280 policemen in Ireland in one year, not in fair fight, but mostly from lurking ambush, and commented: "I never read or heard a word of protest from the Sinn Feiners in Ireland, not a single syllable." Without justifying reprisals, he asked, "Are the police in Ireland to stand up to be shot down like dogs in the streets without any attempt at defending themselves?"

Mr. Lloyd George's address was brilliant, human, and moving. But we are afraid that it does not solve the Irish question.

International

THE IRISH TROUBLES—REFUGEES LEAVING BALBRIGGAN, COUNTY DUBLIN, AFTER THE SACKING OF THE TOWN BY "BLACK AND TANS" AS A REPRISAL FOR THE KILLING OF TWO POLICEMEN

FAMINE IN CHINA

LAST July a friend of The Outlook, traveling in China, reported a widespread drought. Throughout the populous provinces and vast plains of Shantung and Honan, as far as the eye could see, there was not a blade of grain in sight.

The inevitable result has followed. Some thirty-odd million people are starving. There are a thousand deaths a day. Whole families, it is said, have been self-poisoned and children have been sold to escape slow starvation. The condition is serious; the need of relief urgent.

Japan will supply 500,000 bushels of rice, a despatch from Tokyo announces, to relieve the famine. China, it is added, will pay for the rice through a loan.

But China can ill afford to pay for loans. She needs gifts. The Red Cross is the intermediary. It is taking immediate measures to relieve the famine. Mr. Crane, our Minister at Peking, has made the sensible suggestion that any funds contributed be used in promoting public works, thereby giving employment to many famine sufferers.

THE PHELPS-STOKES FUND

A REPORT of the first decade's work of the Phelps-Stokes Fund has just appeared. The Fund was founded in 1911 in accordance with the will of Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes for—

> The erection or improvement of tenement-house dwellings in New York City; and for educational purposes, in the education of Negroes both in Africa and in the United States, North American Indians, and needy deserving white students.

The trustees have devoted two-thirds of the income of the Fund to the advancement of education and one-third to housing improvement. In education it has dispensed its philanthropy as far as possible through existing institutions of proved experience and of assured future stability. To this end it has made scientific and exhaustive investigation. Of Negro educational institutions alone it has, in co-operation with the United States Bureau of Education, investigated nearly seven hundred and fifty. These are supported by private charity to the extent of $3,000,000 annually; their plants and capital are estimated at no less than $28,000,000. And yet, says the report, "not a few of these institutions were found to be actually fraudulent ventures, while many were so inefficient as to be unworthy of support."

"In view of the frequency of the terms 'academy' and 'college' and 'university,'" the report continues, "it is important to note that over seventy-five per cent of the pupils of these institutions are elementary. In spite of the large private contributions mentioned above, the number of pupils in private schools is only seven per cent of all children attending elementary schools. It is apparent, therefore, that the masses of the colored people cannot be educated in private schools, but must be educated mainly in public or tax-supported schools."

We quote from the report's conclusion:

> Among the good Negro schools are some which have achieved international fame for pioneer service in democratizing education. But the majority are following the traditional school curriculum with too exclusive emphasis on bookish studies. . . .
>
> Democracy in the content of education demands that the curriculum shall impart culture through knowledge and practice related to the farm, the shop, the office, and, above all, the home. . . .
>
> Education must be closely related to the actual life of those who have to be taught. It must take account of their instincts, experience, and interests, as distinct from those of people living in quite different conditions. Its aim must be to equip them for the life which they have to live. Hence the main emphasis must be put, not on a purely literary curriculum such as still prevails in many schools, but on training in such necessities of actual life as health, hygiene, the making and keeping of a home, the earning of a livelihood, and civic knowledge and spirit.

During the war, so we learn, the officials of the Fund were constantly called on for help in solving educational problems connected with Negro troops (most of the officials of the Fund were in active war service); and that both during and after the war the Fund co-operated with the War Time Committee of the Churches and the War Work Council of the Y. M. C. A.; finally, that it was also instrumental in forming the Inter-Racial Committee, which has organized committees of white and colored men in many communities to co-

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operate in diminishing race friction. The result is that riots have been averted and newspapers induced more actively to support the increase of educational and health facilities for Negroes.

HOW I SHALL VOTE AND WHY

THE response on the part of the one hundred and sixty-eight college presidents who complied with my personal request for information as to their preferences among the Presidential candidates is a courtesy which I greatly appreciate. The result of their replies is reported in this issue of The Outlook. A majority of those who replied not only stated their preferences but also gave the reasons. Though not a college president, I venture to accompany the able and illuminating letters in this issue with a frank statement of two chief reasons why I shall vote for Mr. Harding in the approaching election.

There are some families in which the father is the ruler. He decides all family questions, solves all family problems, and determines all family policies. His wife and children accept his decisions and carry them out more or less cordially.

There are other families in which the father habitually consults with the various members of the family on all questions which concern its well-being. He seeks to ascertain, not merely what are the interests, but also what are the wishes and the opinions of the wife and the children. Even the little children are taken into the family councils.

The first father is an autocrat. He may be a wise or a foolish autocrat, an unselfish or a selfish autocrat, regardful of the interests of all or only of his own interests; but he is an autocrat. The second father is a democrat. The decision reached after consultation may not always be the wisest, the results may not always be even the most satisfactory to the family; but they are reached by the democratic method.

Temperamentally, I am a democrat. I believe in the democratic spirit and the democratic method—in the family, in the school, in the church, in industry, and in the State. I believe in this method not because it always secures the best immediate results, but because it always tends to produce the best characters. Children, pupils, industrial workers, citizens, are by this method trained to self-government; and self-government—that is, self-control—is essential in every virtue. I believe in it because it always tends to promote contentment in a community. It is not true that all just government is founded on the consent of the governed; but it is true that peaceful government and the spirit of contentment in the citizens are always founded on the consent of the governed. I believe in it because a frank, full, and free conference participated in by all the parties interested in the organization to which they belong almost invariably produces a wiser plan than can be evolved by one autocrat working in solitude, however wise he may be.

I shall vote for Mr. Harding for the reason which Mr. Herbert Parsons, formerly a prominent Republican leader, who has recently declared for Mr. Cox, assigns for voting against Mr. Harding. "Mr. Harding," says Mr. Parsons, "has no constructive programme, and says it is folly to be specific." What Mr. Harding did say was:

> Men ask me for a specific plan. I have none, because it was the specific plan and insistence on it that brought about the scrapping of the Wilson Covenant. It is too big for one man to determine what the plan is going to be. It is my task to so harmonize the views of America that when we do take up a plan all of us can be back of it.

Mr. Harding has no definite plan for a League; but he has a very definite plan for obtaining and harmonizing the views of America, so that when the plan is worked out not merely the President and his party, not merely the Senate and the House of Representatives, but the great mass of the American people shall be back of it. His plan he has thus stated:

> What is in my mind is the wisdom of calling into real conference the ablest and most experienced minds of this country, from whatever walks of life they may be derived and without regard to party affiliation, to formulate a definite, practical plan along the lines already indicated for consideration of the controlling foreign Powers.

I shall vote for Mr. Harding primarily because I believe that this is the way in which a democratic country should act in dealing with a great crisis. I do not believe that an autocrat, however excellent his intentions, however wise his judgment, should act for the Nation. I believe that the Nation should be inspired to act for itself, and should form the plan as well as put it into execution. For the same reason that I desire to see the head of the family consult with the family, the head of the school with the pupils, the head of the mine or the factory with the workers, I desire to see the head of the Nation consult with the citizens. Miss Follett, in a remarkable book entitled "The New State," reviewed in these pages a few years ago, maintained that democracy is not merely government by the majority. Democracy is mutual interest in one another's welfare, mutual regard for one another's wishes, mutual respect for one another's opinions. It means faith in one another. Democracy is a "Get Together Club." It is founded on the fundamental principle that out of a fair-minded, honest-hearted comparison of different views and opinions a new plan can be created different from and wiser than any plan which has been submitted to the conference. Democracy is nothing if it is not creative. Mr. Wilson's endeavor to create in the solitude of his own study a plan for a brotherhood of nations, and then submit it complete for acceptance, was inevitably a failure. It failed, not merely because it was inconsistent with the spirit if not with the letter of our Constitution, but because it was inconsistent with that faith in his fellow-men which is essential to democracy and without which no man can interpret or represent his fellow-men. My primary objection to the League of Nations is not that it is a bad plan, but that it is not the Nation's plan, and no attempt has been made, either through Congress, or through public conventions, or through the press, or through private consultations, to secure any participation of the people or their representatives in forming the plan.

But I also think the plan as proposed by Mr. Wilson and adopted by Mr. Cox is full of peril not only to America, but to the peace of the world. This plan is, in brief, a military alliance of the civilized nations of the world to protect each other from aggression. This purpose is embodied in Article X:

> The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

If America enters the League and subscribes to this article, it promises to join with other nations in preserving as against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of all the members of the League. I object to this plan because:

1. The Congress of 1920 has no authority to pledge the Congress of 1922 to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other nation. To make promises which we are not sure will be fulfilled is immoral

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for the individual and still more immoral for a nation.

2. Our fathers were wise in not allowing one generation to pledge a future generation to a war policy. We must meet our crises with brave hearts, but we must also assume that our sons will not be less brave than we are. We have no moral right to pledge for them beforehand the sacrifice of their lives.

3. To create an allied army and put it under the control of an international committee or to allow an international committee to call at will an allied army into existence is not a wise method to promote international peace. It will be more likely to promote war.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties, both Mr. Cox and Mr. Harding, believe in an international association. Mr. Harding has expressed his faith on this subject very clearly. "I am in favor of drafting, revising, or remaking an association of nations to maintain civilization without surrendering anything we hold dear in our United States of America." Observe the words "*to maintain civilization.*"

Both parties agree in favoring stated meetings of an International Conference, democratic in its character, to consider international problems and reach, if possible, international agreements. Both parties agree in favoring the creation of an International Court to which civilized nations may submit such questions as may arise between them. To substitute the appeal to reason for the appeal to force has the sanction of all thoughtful men in all civilized nations.

But suppose a barbaric nation which disregards treaties, discards international law, disowns all moral obligations, glorifies war, and knows no other principle than "might makes right" again attacks civilization. With the history of Germany just behind us, with the threats of the Bolsheviki sounding in our ears, with the unprovoked massacre of unprotected Armenians fresh in our memories, we cannot say that such an uprising of barbarism is impossible. This is a real danger, and one which we have to consider, if not prepare for.

Mr. Cox accepts Mr. Wilson's proposal to form *now* a military alliance of the civilized nations prepared to meet the assault of barbarism whenever it shall occur. Senators Johnson and Borah propose to do nothing *now*, but trust the future to meet future dangers when, if ever, they appear. Mr. Harding proposes, when elected, to call into conference some of the ablest and most experienced minds in America to cooperate with him and the Senate in forming a plan to be submitted to the foreign Powers for safeguarding the future. Of these three plans, Mr. Harding's seems to me the wisest. I had hoped against hope that President Wilson and the Senate could get together on some plan which would at least diminish the perils of the proposed military alliance. That hope is gone. The League has not secured peace, order, or justice in Europe. Mr. Wilson's scheme has thus far resulted only in bitter disappointment. I shall vote for Mr. Harding because I believe that his proposal for dealing with this problem by conference and co-operation promises a better result.

A hundred and thirty years ago the people of the thirteen American colonies formed a Union of States. This Union was formed not *for* them but *by* them, through their representatives, after three years of deliberation and discussion, and it was a far wiser and more comprehensive document than any man or small committee of men could have produced. I wish to see the United States take its part in a similar democratic fashion in forming, not a similar union of World Powers, but an association of World Powers for a similar purpose: To "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." If we wish to do for the world what our fathers did for this continent, we can hope to do it only as we possess the spirit and adopt the method of our fathers, the spirit of democracy and the method of democracy. And I shall vote for Mr. Harding because he believes that this problem is too big for any man to solve, and because I think his proposal for national conference and co-operation in producing a plan seems to me full of promise for a brotherhood of nations which will be more pacific and more practicable because democratic in the method of its preparation than the Wilson League of Nations.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

THE DEATH OF PRIVACY

"NO longer," said the Young-Old Philosopher, stopping in for a chat the other morning, "is there any privacy in the world."

"Why, what do you mean?" we said. "Only a few days ago we read an article by a man who contended that he could be more alone in a great city like New York, when he chose, than anywhere else. He did not except, as we recall, even the Desert of Sahara."

"Oh, I grant you that," answered our friend. "But I am alluding, not to a hermit-like withdrawal from the rushing world of affairs now and then. I refer to the ordinary wholesome peace and quiet we all need practically every day of our lives—and do not get. I passed a great church this morning while the funeral of a certain well-known motion-picture actress was being conducted, and there were vast crowds around the doors, drawn thither through curiosity and the magnet of publicity, scrambling and shoving one another as only a New York mob seems able to do; and as the casket was borne from the church I saw, to my amazement, a motion-picture man on the opposite curb diligently turning his crank. Even in death that poor young woman was unable to escape the pitiless eye of the camera! One would have thought that, the final curtain lowered, she might have been allowed to be taken to her grave with some semblance of reverence. But no! she was too popular to be lost to the movie 'fans' just yet, and on every screen of the city to-night there will be thrown, as news, so many feet of film picturing the last pilgrimage her poor body was to make in this world.

"Our sanctities are gone. You can shut off your telephone, yes; but you cannot prevent that little bell from ringing, though you can refuse, of course, to answer it. The airplane floats above the most remote golf links nowadays, and where you could only a few years ago take a house in the far back country and put a hedge around yourself, be miles from the railway and the flying motors that make the highway hum, you cannot now escape the vigilant and prying air-machine which can swoop down upon the loneliest garden or the most desolate stretch of shore. The invasion of our privacy by all sorts of modern inventions lends terror to new brain discoveries. The war was fought by unseen foes; but never once did the enemy fail to know, through scout planes, just where the opposing army lay in wait.

"I sometimes sigh for the old hushed days of our forefathers. Stage-coaches may have been cumbersome and uncomfortable, but it must have been a pleasure to live without being constantly stared at. Life is now one long veranda without the dignity of the simplest concealing balustrade; and if the hour ever comes—as, alas! it threatens to do—when one's innermost thoughts will be an open book to the rest of the world, then, surely, I will give up! For I do like a hedge once in a while, don't you?"

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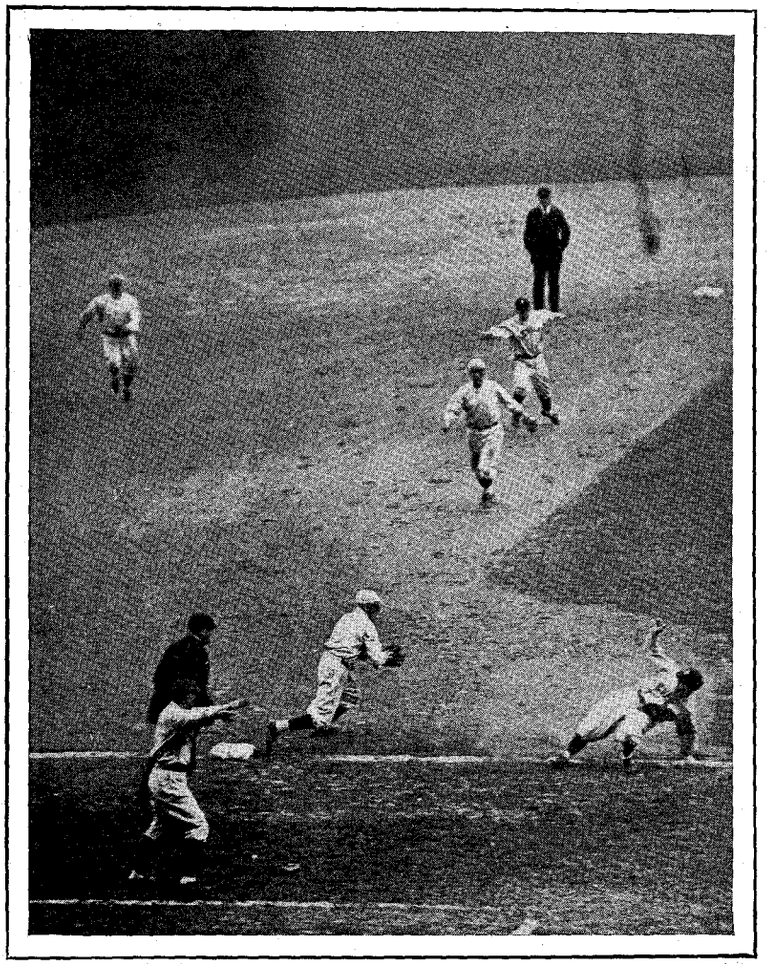
CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED



Paul Thompson

A THRILLING MOMENT IN THE "WORLD'S SERIES"

Sewell, of the Cleveland Club, has just been trapped between third and home. He is seen making a futile effort to avoid his fate.

Paul Thompson

AMERICAN VICTORS IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES AT ANTWERP PARADE IN NEW YORK CITY

American girls and women were among the successful contestants in the Olympic games. They are seen in the foreground

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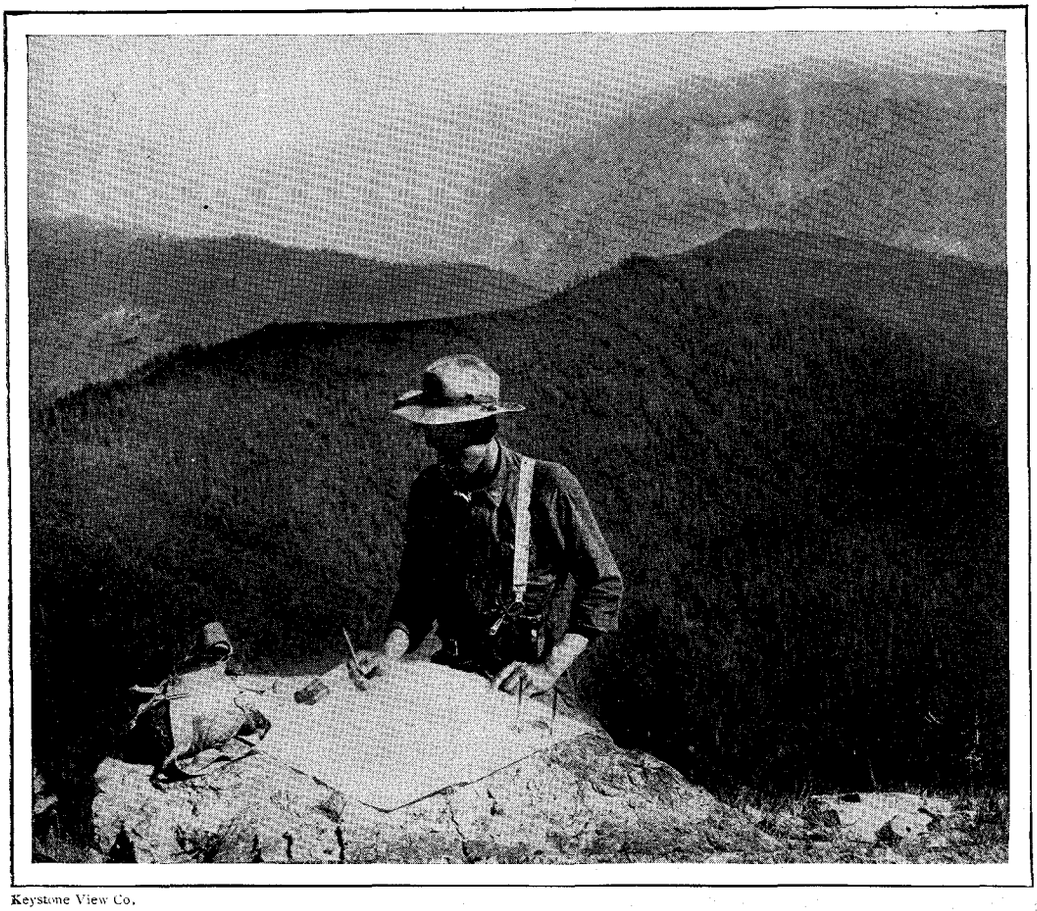

Keystone View Co.

A FOREST RANGER LOCATING A FIRE

The season of forest fires again jeopardizes our great timber reserves. A vigilant forest ranger has seen in the distance a slender column of smoke that portends danger. He is figuring out with map, compass, and binoculars just where the fire is and the best way to get to it. The photograph was made at the Mount Silcox Lookout Station, Montana

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ELECTION AT VERSAILLES OF FRANCE'S NEW PRESIDENT

President Millerand (at right center) accompanied by M. Bourgeois (President of the Council of the League of Nations) is seen while leaving the session of the National Assembly after the Presidential election

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COLLEGE PRESIDENTS ANSWER THE OUTLOOK'S QUESTION

HOW WILL YOU VOTE AND WHY?

IN September the Editor-in-Chief of The Outlook sent to virtually every college president in the country a letter which, except for details not necessary to be recounted here, was as follows:

> Never in my lifetime, except perhaps in the Presidential election immediately preceding the Civil War, has there seemed to me to be as much confusion as now in the public mind respecting political issues. For this reason I am asking a number of college presidents to co-operate in a plan to furnish guidance to a perplexed community.
>
> Since the foundation of the country, the college, with its later development, the university, has had a special place of influence in America. Particularly has it molded public affairs. This has been manifest in many ways. For example, of our twenty-seven Presidents eighteen have been college graduates. There is, therefore, during a Presidential campaign, special significance in the political judgment, individual and composite, of the heads of American colleges and universities.
>
> Your vote for President ought to be more than a vote. It is, or can be made, a word of leadership. I should be glad if you would make use of The Outlook as a medium for conveying that word to the public.
>
> Yours sincerely,
> LYMAN ABBOTT.

The response was generous. One hundred and sixty-eight college presidents, representing every section of the country, North, South, East, and West, and all but ten States of the Union, recorded their choice among the candidates for President of the United States. Although The Outlook promised each college president that the secrecy of his ballot would be preserved if he wished it, the great majority sent in their votes without requesting secrecy.

Almost one hundred and forty college presidents are therefore recorded by name and college in the accompanying table. The arrangement is by college alphabetically.

Of itself the total vote arithmetically may not be significant. The straw vote, even when cast by so influential a body as the college presidents of America, decides nothing; and, in spite of the cartoonist whose picture accompanies this article, may be no guide, and is by no means always trustworthy as an indication of the course of public opinion. The judgment, however, of the individuals here recorded should have weight. There are reasons which sway the mind of the scholar and the educator which are not always sufficiently considered by the ordinary citizen. One of the most eminent of college presidents, a man influential not only in academic spheres but also in practical affairs, who desires for sufficient reasons that his name be not mentioned, has written giving the reasons for his vote, to which he appends the following reflection:

> I appreciate the compliment of your asking for views from college presidents, but I doubt whether our hard-headed fellow-countrymen will be appreciably affected by the opinions given. At the outset of the World War the Kaiser published the opinions of some eighty-three (I think that was the number) German professors who unanimously supported him in his aggressive attitude. Doubtless this move had its effect on the docile German mind, trained to reverence for educational fiat and governmental direction—our Americans, however, take from their college leaders the educational training they desire, but they don't feel called on to follow them politically.

Kuhn in the Rocky Mountain News

HE'S WITH US AGAIN!

From Dorothy Jenkins, Denver, Colorado

It is not with any expectation that our readers will follow these college presidents that we publish this vote, but rather with the expectation that they will be guided and enlightened not only by the vote itself, but by the reasons which accompany it.

People who are mathematically inclined may be interested in the fact that among the college presidents Harding polls 85 votes, Cox 63, Watkins 3, and Debs 1, and 16 undecided. Many readers may be surprised that so large a proportion—nearly ten per cent—of the total vote is recorded as undecided. In the time elapsed since these ballots were mailed, however, that percentage has probably been reduced.

GENERAL DISAPPOINTMENT

To perpetrate a bull, there is one thing present in all these letters, namely, the absence of enthusiasm. Indeed, this very negative quality in a number of cases becomes positive disappointment and occasionally rises into disgust. Perhaps the extreme expression of this feeling comes in a letter from the president of one of the best-known educational institutions in the country. He expresses himself the more freely because he knows we will observe his request to preserve his anonymity. He wrote, explaining an inclination to vote for Harding in spite of his indecision, as follows:

> Will have to hold but one nostril to vote for Harding, but two if I vote for Cox.

In general, however, the disappointment is expressed more mildly. Thus President Silas Evans, whose resignation took effect almost simultaneously with the mailing of his letter, writes from Occidental College (Los Angeles, California):

> Like many another citizen, I openly confess to be politically confused. I have an abiding faith in the heart and purpose of America, but a bewildering sense of humiliation in its present political morale and leaders. We seem weary of the virile idealism and exacting statesmanship of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, and are apparently content with the procedure and tolerant of the tactics of our recent political conventions. The conventions and their candidates were both a popular disappointment.
>
> I prefer the platform of the Democratic party. I have a sense of shame in reading the Republican planks on Armenia, Mexico, and the League of Nations. Yet, to illustrate my political confusion, after taking a general perspective of the situation, I may, withal, vote the Republican ticket, especially if the drift and spirit gathers a larger hope than at present, that the Republican party will meet America's obligation and responsibility in an ethical way. I shall vote for Harding or Cox, and in either case shall ask God to forgive me.
>
> Not to imply cynicism, I believe the issues and men are quite up to the average, but so very far short of the requirements of our day. The next campaign will give us a newer and better reaction, which will lift us to

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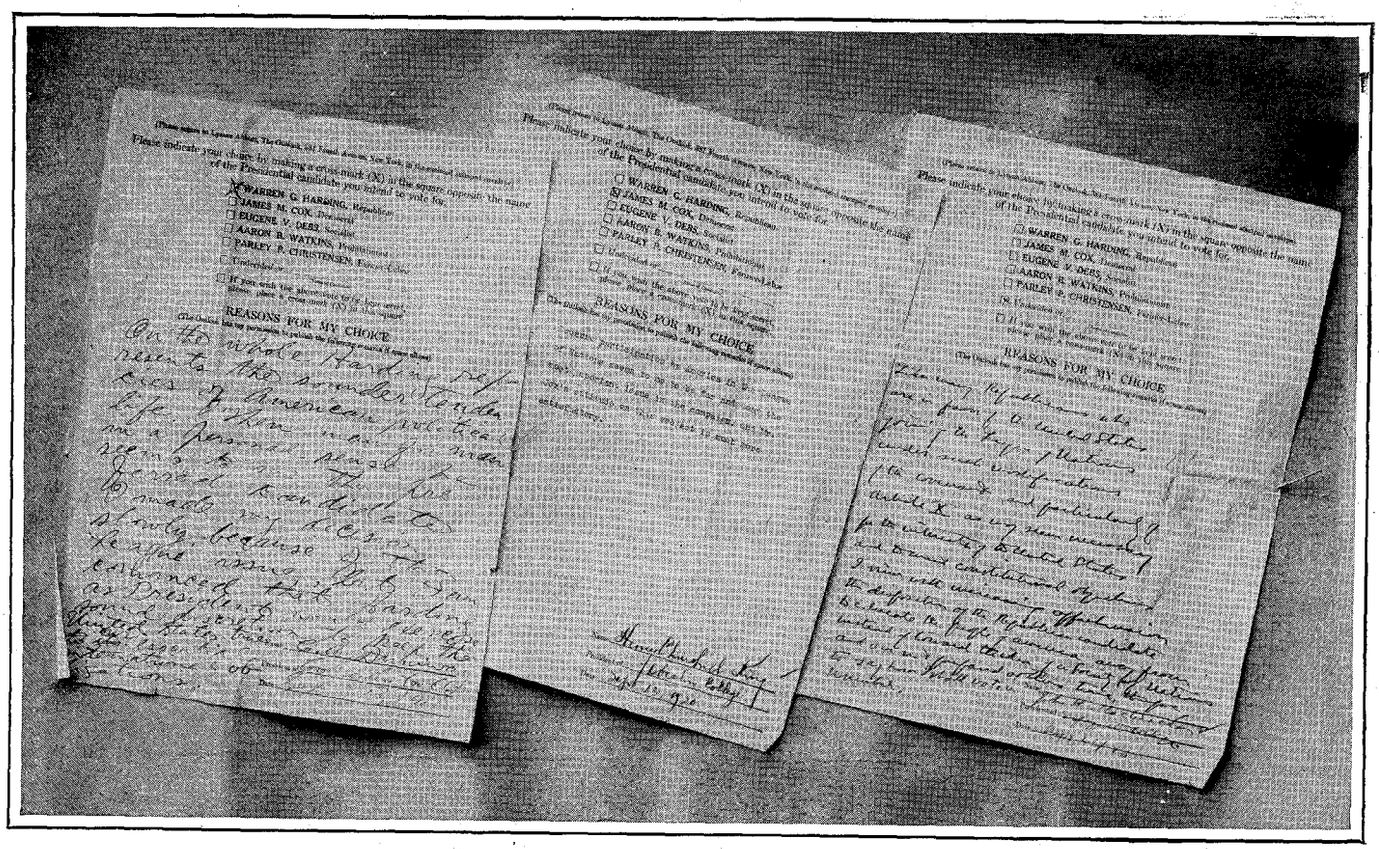

SAMPLE BALLOTS FROM THE OUTLOOK'S POLL OF COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

Presidents Duniway of Colorado College, King of Oberlin, and MacCracken of Lafayette, answer the question—For whom will you vote and why?

to higher levels of National life and duty.

This disappointment is not by any means confined to those who are still undecided. Here is a typical expression of disappointment from a college president who is going to vote the Prohibition ticket—President Lehman, of Eureka College (Illinois):

> As a voting Prohibitionist, I have hoped that it would not be necessary this year for the party to have a candidate. But I shall continue to vote the Prohibition ticket for two reasons:
>
> 1. Because I believe we not only need a prohibition law, but the enforcement of it. We need, not only men in office who believe in the enforcement of all law, but men who believe in the prohibition law, or it will not be difficult for the Amendment to be nullified.
>
> 2. As a protest against the nominees of the two major parties. In a time when the problems facing our Government appear to be unusually momentous, they have nominated candidates by the process of political trading and have secured men who are generally recognized as the result of all sorts of compromises. I have yet to see anywhere, and I travel a good deal, especially in my State, any enthusiasm for either nominee for President.

This testimony of the Prohibitionist that voters in other parties are no more enthusiastic than he is supported by evidence in these letters. For example, President Frank E. Jenkins, of Piedmont College (Georgia), writes unenthusiastically that he intends to vote for the Democratic nominee, Mr. Cox, because—

> I see no other way to vote for the League of Nations. I do not like his record on the saloon question nor his connection with Tammany and Taggart.

In similar vein write several who have marked their ballots for Harding. For example, President L. H. Murlin, of Boston University (Massachusetts), writes:

> I shall vote the Republican ticket because, while not wholly satisfactory either in candidate or platform, I am quite sure that the Republican party offers the larger hope for a sane, safe, conservatively progressive programme for our country at home and abroad. Moreover, as the campaign develops, the lack of sincerity of Mr. Cox and his party appears more and more, and the sounder and permanent qualities of Harding and Republicanism become more and more evident.

Expressions of hearty and laudatory support for any candidate are rare enough to be somewhat conspicuous. Thus President Heaps, of Milton University, Baltimore, Maryland, writes of Harding's "splendid comprehension" of Presidential duties and responsibilities, "his excellent grasp of public problems," his "true Americanism," his "fair and fearless stand on labor and other issues," and "his dignified poise." And President Pierce Butler, of the Sophie Newcomb Memorial College, of New Orleans, was undecided "until the Republican party made choice of a reactionary, pledged to defeat any common-sense policy for peace and for the League." Now he writes unequivocally of Governor Cox's "courageous and sensible stand on all public questions that really matter."

CONTROLLING REASONS

In determining their choice the college presidents who have written to The Outlook have been guided by reasons which may be grouped under three heads: Their judgment on the parties, their judgment on the personalities of the candidates, and their judgment on the chief issues. Like many other voters, college presidents are affected by political habit and custom. To have been a lifelong Republican or Democrat is a compelling reason for continuing to be such. President Slover, of Clarendon College (Texas), for example, frankly says that he will vote the Democratic ticket because he is a lifelong Democrat and the Democratic candidate more nearly stands for what he wants than any other. President John O. Willson, of Lander College (South Carolina), who gives as one of his reasons the issue of the League of Nations, as does also President Slover, puts first as his reason for voting for Governor Cox his memory of "the tyranny of 'Congressional rule' in 1865 and the years following," explaining that "Mr. Harding's plan to be largely influenced by the United States Senate reminds the South of what she suffered under Thaddeus Stevens and his

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Paul Thompson

HENRY CHURCHILL KING, PRESIDENT OBERLIN COLLEGE

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MARY E. WOOLLEY, PRESIDENT MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

colleagues." Similarly, certain college presidents who will vote for Mr. Harding indicate that their preference is primarily a party preference. Professor Joseph H. Apple, of Hood College (Maryland), who is not enthusiastic over Harding, as he had hoped for somebody more independent and progressive, begins his letter, "I am supposedly a Republican, though not a partisan." This inclination to one party or the other is not by any means merely a matter of habit. It is in most cases deliberate choice of the more congenial organization.

President Lowry, of Hiwassee College (Tennessee), votes for Cox because he believes in the principles of the Democratic party and that Mr. Cox will uphold them, while President Ketler, of Grove City College (Pennsylvania), believes that the country at this time needs a Republican Administration and that Mr. Harding, the candidate of the party, is of high moral character and is experienced in public affairs. Applying the test of efficiency to the two parties, these college presidents differ in their judgment as to which party meets the test. President Millis, of Hanover College (Indiana), thinks that Mr. Harding will bring into the National Administration more capable personnel than Mr. Cox, while President Record, of Pikeville College (Kentucky), in addition to giving other reasons for his choice of Mr. Cox cites the record of the party in the war—the selective draft, the training of men, the transportation of our soldiers overseas, and the manufacture of munitions—as evidence of the efficiency of the Democratic party. In one or two cases, as, for instance, that of President J. Stanley Brown, of Northern Illinois State Normal College (Illinois), the candidate is supported because, to use President Brown's words, "he represents the dominant public opinion in American life to-day." With this President Clippinger, of Otterbein College (Ohio), who nevertheless is going to vote for Harding in spite of Mr. Cox's "indefinite connection with our church and our college," disagrees, for he writes that "none of the candidates is a genuine representative of Americanism."

PERSONALITY OF THE CANDIDATES

When it comes to considering the character and qualification of the candidates as individuals, the college presidents differ, as they do on other questions. President Brooks, of Clarkson College of Technology (New York), rejects Mr. Cox as unfit, and accepts Mr. Harding as fit—for the same reason, namely, because of personality and political associates. On the other hand, President Poteat, of Wake Forest College (North Carolina), makes the following comparison:

> Neither of the candidates is an ideal man for the Presidency. They both show too meager an intellectual background, too narrow a horizon. Mr. Cox is somewhat short in dignity and moderation, Mr. Harding has little else. But Mr. Cox has a clear head and knows what is in it. Mr. Harding has a muddy head and is not sure of finding anything in it. Mr. Cox is vigorous, Mr. Harding passive. Mr. Cox is independent, Mr. Harding acquiescent. Both are honorable men, but the Democrat is more to be trusted with a grave public responsibility.

Many of the college presidents judge the candidates by the character of those supporting them. A number of them are for Mr. Cox because they disapprove of the Senatorial group. And others are for Mr. Harding because they disapprove of Tammany and the "moist" element. Thus President McGlothlin, of Furman University (South Carolina), thinks that Mr. Harding will be the servant of the present Senatorial oligarchy, while President Hillman, of Simpson College (Iowa), writes, on the other hand:

> I have known Senator Harding personally for over twenty-five years. I wish he was a little more hospitable to a league of nations and a little more progressive. But the influences that brought about the nomination of Governor Cox at San Francisco and his "wet" affiliations make it impossible for me to seriously consider supporting him.

Others write in the same vein. There is likewise a difference of opinion on the record of the candidates, Mr. Cox's record as Governor and Mr. Harding's experience in National affairs being cited on the respective sides of the campaign. Similarly, there is a difference of opinion as to natural capacity as well as to experience, President Bowman, of Bridgewater College (Virginia), declaring, for instance, that the balance tips in Mr. Harding's favor as the older and more experienced politician.

THE ISSUES

The chief issues mentioned by the presidents are stated compactly by President Adams, of Georgetown College (Kentucky), from the point of view of a Cox supporter:

> 1. A vote for Cox is a vote for the immediate ratification of the Versailles Treaty of Peace, including the League of Nations Covenant.
> 2. It is a vote to indorse the work of Woodrow Wilson and to condemn the tactics of Senator Lodge and his helpers.
> 3. The Democratic party and candidate represent in this election the forces of progress. They alone have the forward look.
> 4. The Democrats will deal more wisely with the labor problems than the Republicans.

Of all the issues, incomparably the most frequently mentioned, particularly by supporters of Mr. Cox, is the League of Nations. It is impossible in this space to present the arguments pro and con on this subject. Many are satisfied in saying in substance what President Brooks, of Baylor University (Texas), says in answer to our request for reasons for his choice:

> My chief reason is my intense desire to see the League of Nations adopted. Cox would go in; Harding would stay

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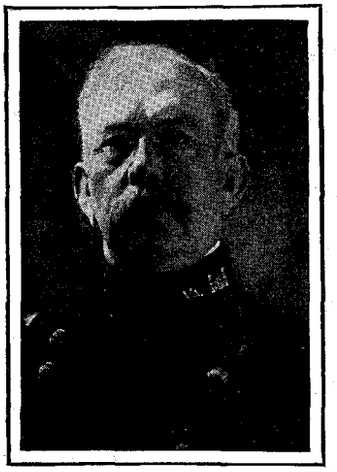
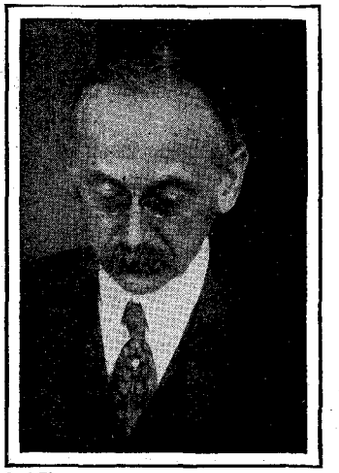
Pirie Macdonald

JOHN HENRY MacCRACKEN, PRESIDENT LAFAYETTE COLLEGE



Paul Thompson

EDWARD W. NICHOLS, PRESIDENT VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE



Paul Thompson

ALEXANDER C. HUMPHREYS, PRESIDENT STEVENS INSTITUTE

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WILLIAM MILLER COLLIER, PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIV.

out. America cannot live apart from the world.

One college president goes so far as to say that remaining out would be criminal. Most of the supporters of Mr. Cox express this belief in the League and many put it as the paramount reason. Among those who argue for the League is one whose opinion has special weight because of his experience. President John N. Bennett, of Doane College (Nebraska), writes:

> I was with our armies in France for nearly seventeen months, and I feel very deeply the sting of ingratitude and the puerile opposition to the trend of the age as exhibited by the Republicans.

President Harper, of Elon College (North Carolina), says that in withholding our approval from the League "we have become the Pharisee of the nations," and thinks it tragic.

Not all those, however, who favor the League are in favor of Mr. Cox. For example, President G. N. Briggs, of Graceland College (Iowa), writes:

> Under our form of government with its "checks and balances" I believe the election of Governor Cox will postpone for years the possibility of our entering any form of international association, whereas I believe the election of Senator Harding will materially advance the very essential cause of peace and the organization of an association of nations.

The minds of others who are in favor of the League of Nations but more doubtful of the Republican attitude towards it are represented by these words by President H. M. Gage, of Huron College (South Dakota):

> If Harding continues to move toward the League—to Taft's and Wickersham's position, I shall vote for him. Otherwise I am inclined to think I shall not.

On the other hand are many who are distinctly opposed to the League of Nations as at present constituted and regard the election of Mr. Harding as necessary to prevent the United States from joining it without modifications. For example, President J. M. Wood, of Stephens College (Missouri), writes:

> I am opposed to America's entering any League of Nations that is built upon political considerations. The nucleus of any co-operative movement should be an international court.

Others likewise express the belief that international relations should be based on the Hague plan rather than the Paris plan, a court rather than a diplomatic council.

A large proportion of those who advocate the election of Mr. Cox urge his election because he is progressive and forward-looking. "Senator Harding seems to look back," writes President J. E. Allen, of Davis and Elkins College (West Virginia), "while Cox looks forward." What many of these college presidents who speak of progressiveness have in mind President Allen specifically gives in the rest of his statement, which connects the issue of progressiveness with labor and the League of Nations so as to make it a single issue:

> Senator Harding and his immediate advisers would probably not have the co-operation of labor; Governor Cox would be more apt to invite the confidence of this great power in the country. Cox will be as able to lead this country into the League under the best conditions as Harding. Neither will have the control of the Senate in case of election. There is enough leading power in the present Republican party to prevent our entering any league. This would almost be a challenge to the world of our desire to fight it out as heretofore, and it is my candid opinion that a large majority of labor in this country would refuse to take up arms except to defend this country from immediate invasion.

Others who see this issue give it another interpretation. They feel the necessity at this time not so much for untried measures as for the recovery of what seems to them to have been lost. This is variously expressed. Some put it as the need for a "sane, solid, substantial Administration with a Cabinet of strong men," to use the words of President J. H. Wood, of Culver-Stockton College (Missouri). Others put it more specifically as the need for what President Kroeze, of Jamestown College (North Dakota), calls "a strong, stabilizing force in government at this critical period in our history when the foundations of representative government are in danger." President J. F. Lane, of Lane College (Tennessee), thinks that "just after a reign of military authority" there is special need for "a strong, firm, and sane administration of affairs through civil authorities."

A number of the college presidents writing to us put this issue more specifically still by the advocacy, on the one hand, of Wilson's policies and indorsement of his record and by advocacy, on the other hand, of a reversal of what is termed "one man rule" and a return to methods more in accord with American traditions and practices. Thus President Gordon, of Henry Kendall College (Oklahoma), writes that "President Wilson proved the most able leader that the world has ever seen in his conduct during the war," that it was "very unfortunate indeed that he has been attacked by men who differ from him," and that "Cox should be elected President as a recognition of the splendid and almost superhuman work that President Wilson did in the great war."

On the other hand, there are men who take exactly the opposite position. President H. C. Culbertson, of Ripon College (Wisconsin), declares: "Although I am in favor of the League of Nations, yet I am opposed to the methods of the Wilson Administration, and, on the whole, I believe that there is more hope of future safe constructive leadership in international, social, and industrial affairs through the Republican party."

Mr. Cox's charges of corruption have made little impression, only two or three presidents referring to them. In one case these charges have gained or con-

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THE VOTES OF THE PRESIDENTS

Arranged in alphabetical order according to the colleges they represent, here is a list of the American college presidents who have told The Outlook how they will vote. Represented in the total given elsewhere, but not on this list, are the preferences of those who requested that their votes be kept secret

H=Harding ; C=Cox ; D=Debs ; W=Watkins ; U=Undecided

College	Place	President	
Adelphi	Brooklyn, N. Y.	F. D. Blodgett	H
Alabama, Univ. of	University, Ala.	G. H. Denny	C
Albright	Myerstown, Pa.	L. C. Hunt	U
Alfred Univ.	Alfred, N. Y.	B. C. Davis	H
Armour Inst. of Tech.	Chicago, Ill.	F. W. Gunsaulus	H
Baldwin-Wallace	Berea, Ohio	A. B. Storms	C
Baylor (Fem.)	Belton, Texas	J. C. Hardy	C
Baylor Univ.	Waco, Texas	S. P. Brooks	C
Beloit	Beloit, Wis.	Melvin A. Brannon	H
Benedict	Columbia, S. C.	B. W. Valentine	H
Birmingham-Southern	Birmingham, Ala.	C. C. Daniel	C
Boston Univ.	Boston, Mass.	L. H. Murlin	H
Bradley Poly. Inst.	Peoria, Ill.	T. C. Burgess	H
Bridgewater	Bridgewater, Va.	P. H. Bowman	H
Brigham Young	Logan, Utah	W. W. Henderson	C
Bucknell Univ.	Lewisburg, Pa.	J. H. Harris (s)	H
Butler	Indianapolis, Ind.	T. C. Howe	H
California, Univ. of	Berkeley, Cal.	B. I. Wheeler (a)	C
Central	Conway, Ark.	J. W. Conger (a)	C
Central Wesleyan	Warrentown, Mo.	O. E. Kriege	H
Chicago, Univ. of	Chicago, Ill.	H. P. Judson	H
Clarendon	Clarendon, Texas	G. S. Slover	C
Clarkson Coll. of Tech.	Potsdam, N. Y.	J. P. Brooks	H
Colorado	Colorado Spgs., Col.	C. A. Duniway	H
Cornell	Mt. Vernon, Iowa	C. W. Flint	U
Culver-Stockton	Canton, Mo.	J. H. Wood	H
Dakota Wesleyan Univ.	Mitchell, S. D.	W. D. Schermerhorn	U
Dartmouth	Hanover, N. H.	E. M. Hopkins	H
Davidson	Davidson, N. C.	W. J. Martin	C
Davis & Elkins	Elkins, W. Va.	J. E. Allen	C
Defiance	Defiance, Ohio	A. G. Caris	H
Detroit, Univ. of	Detroit, Mich.	W. T. Doran, S.J.	H
Doane	Crete, Neb.	J. M. Bennett	C
Earlham	Richmond, Ind.	B. M. Edwards (b)	U
Elon	Elon College, N. C.	W. A. Harper	C
Eureka	Eureka, Ill.	L. O. Lehman	W
Fairmount	Wichita, Kan.	W. H. Rollins	H
Fisk Univ.	Nashville, Tenn.	F. A. McKenzie	H
Franklin & Marshall	Lancaster, Pa.	H. H. Apple	H
Furman Univ.	Greenville, S. C.	W. J. McGlothlin	C
George Washington Univ.	Washington, D. C.	W. M. Collier (c)	H
Georgetown	Georgetown, Ky.	M. B. Adams	C
Goucher	Baltimore, Md.	W. W. Guth	H
Graceland	Lamoni, Iowa	G. N. Briggs	H
Grinnell	Grinnell, Iowa	J. H. T. Main	U
Grove City	Grove City, Pa.	W. C. Ketler	H
Hampden-Sidney	Hampden-Sidney, Va.	A. W. McWhorter (d)	C
Hanover	Hanover, Ind.	W. A. Millis	H
Hastings	Hastings, Neb.	C. H. French	U
Hiwassee	Madisonville, Tenn.	J. E. Lowry	C
Hood	Frederick, Md.	J. H. Apple	H
Howard	Birmingham, Ala.	C. B. Williams	C
Huron	Huron, S. D.	H. M. Gage	U
Illinois	Jacksonville, Ill.	C. H. Rammelkamp	U
Illinois State Nor. Univ.	Normal, Ill.	D. Felmley	C
Jamestown	Jamestown, N. D.	B. H. Kroeze	H
Judson	Marion, Ala.	Paul V. Bomer	C
Kalamazoo	Kalamazoo, Mich.	H. L. Stetson	U
Kansas Wesleyan	Salina, Kan.	A. H. King (e)	H
Kendall, Henry	Tulsa, Okla.	J. M. Gordon	C
Keuka	Keuka Park, N. Y.	A. H. Norton	C
Lander	Greenwood, S. C.	J. O. Willson	C
Lane	Jackson, Tenn.	J. F. Lane	H
Lafayette	Easton, Pa.	J. H. MacCracken	U
Lawrence	Appleton, Wis.	S. Plantz	U
Louisiana	Pineville, La.	C. Cottingham	C
Marquette	Milwaukee, Wis.	H. C. Noonan, S.J.	H
Martin	Pulaski, Tenn.	G. A. Morgan	C
Middlebury	Middlebury, Vt.	J. M. Thomas	H
Midland	Fremont, Nebr.	E. E. Stauffer	H
Military Coll. of S. C.	Charleston, S. C.	O. J. Bond	C
Milton	Milton, Wis.	W. C. Daland	C
Milton Univ.	Baltimore, Md.	W. J. Heaps	H
Milwaukee-Downer	Milwaukee, Wis.	Ellen C. Sabin	H
Missouri Valley	Marshall, Mo.	W. H. Black	H
Missouri Wesleyan	Cameron, Mo.	C. Harmon	C
Mt. Holyoke (Fem.)	South Hadley, Mass.	Mary E. Woolley	C
Murphy	Sevierville, Tenn.	E. A. Bishop	U
Nebraska Wesleyan	University Pl., Neb.	I. B. Schreckengast	H
Newberry	Newberry, S. C.	S. J. Derrick	C
Newcomb	New Orleans, La.	Pierce Butler	C
New Orleans	New Orleans, La.	C. M. Melden	H
New York Univ.	New York City	E. E. Brown (f)	H
North. Ill. State Nor.	De Kalb, Ill.	J. S. Brown	H
Northwestern	Naperville, Ill.	E. E. Rall	C
Oberlin	Oberlin, Ohio	H. C. King	C
Occidental	Los Angeles, Cal.	S. Evans (s)	U
Oriental Univ.	Washington, D. C.	H. P. Holler	D
Otterbein	Westerville, Ohio	W. G. Clippinger	H
Pacific, Coll. of the	San José, Cal.	T. C. Knoles	C
Paine	Augusta, Ga.	A. D. Betts	C
Payne	Brownwood, Texas	L. J. Mims	C
Piedmont	Demorest, Ga.	F. E. Jenkins	C
Pikeville	Pikeville, Ky.	J. F. Record	C
Pittsburgh, Univ. of	Pittsburgh, Pa.	S. B. McCormick	H
Potomac Univ.	Washington, D. C.	E. W. Porter	H
Pratt Inst.	Brooklyn, N. Y.	F. B. Pratt	H
Presbyterian Coll. of S.C.	Clinton, S. C.	D. M. Douglas	C
Purdue Univ.	Lafayette, Ind.	W. E. Stone	H
Randolph-Macon	Ashland, Va.	R. E. Blackwell	C
Redlands, Univ. of	Redlands, Cal.	V. L. Duke	H
Reed	Portland, Ore.	W. T. Foster (s)	C
Rensselaer Poly. Inst.	Troy, N. Y.	P. C. Ricketts	H
Ripon	Ripon, Wis.	H. C. Culbertson	H
St. John's	Annapolis, Md.	Thomas Fell	C
St. Viator	Bourbonnais, Ill.	W. J. Bergin	H
Shaw Univ.	Raleigh, N. C.	C. F. Meserve (a)	H
Shorter	Rome, Ga.	A. W. van Hoose	C
Simpson	Indianola, Iowa	J. W. Hillman	H
Smith	Northampton, Mass.	W. A. Neilson	C
Smith, Philander	Little Rock, Ark.	J. M. Cox	H
Southern Calif., Univ. of	Los Angeles, Cal.	G. F. Bovard	H
Stanford	Stanford Univ., Cal.	R. L. Wilbur	U
Stephens	Columbia, Mo.	J. M. Wood	H
Stevens Inst. of Tech.	Hoboken, N. J.	A. C. Humphreys	H
Susquehanna Univ.	Selinsgrove, Pa.	C. T. Aikens	H
Sweet Briar	Sweet Briar, Va.	Emilie W. McVea	C
Texas	Tyler, Texas	W. R. Banks	H
Texas, Univ. of	Austin, Texas	R. E. Vinson	C
Thiel	Greenville, Pa.	H. W. Elson	C
Transylvania	Lexington, Ky.	R. H. Crossfield	C
Tufts	Tufts College, Mass.	J. A. Cousens	H
Tusculum	Greenville, Tenn.	Charles O. Gray	C
Union	College View, Neb.	H. A. Morrison	H
Union	Schenectady, N. Y.	C. A. Richmond	H
Upsala	Kenilworth, N. J.	Frans Ericsson	C
Ursinus	Collegeville, Pa.	G. L. Omwake	C
Valparaiso	Valparaiso, Ind.	D. R. Hodgson	H
Vermont, Univ. of	Burlington, Vt.	G. W. Bailey	H
Virginia Mil. Inst.	Lexington, Va.	E. W. Nichols	C
Wake Forest	Wake Forest, N. C.	W. L. Poteat	C
Wheaton	Wheaton, Ill.	C. A. Blanchard	W
Wheaton	Norton, Mass.	S. V. Cole	H
Whitman	Walla Walla, Wash.	S. B. L. Penrose	H
Unknown	Unknown, Okla.	Unknown	H

(a) President Emeritus (b) Prefers Herbert Hoover (c) Former American Minister to Spain (d) Dean, formerly Acting President (e) Dean (f) Chancellor (s) ex-President

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firmed a vote for Mr. Cox, but in the other cases they have supplied reasons against him, one of the presidents deploring in particular Mr. Cox's "fire-eating" methods.

In a number of cases prohibition figures sometimes as an argument for Mr. Harding, sometimes as a matter that has been settled and ought not to militate against Mr. Cox, and in three cases serving as a reason for voting for Mr. Watkins, the Prohibitionist candidate.

From other letters which we have received we make the following selections. We regret that space does not permit printing all of the letters in full. Even those letters which we have not been able to quote from as a whole or in part are of great value, and The Outlook and its readers are under obligations to every one of these college presidents who have stated the reasons that governed their vote.

FROM FRANK D. BLODGETT
Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y.

I am heartily supporting Senator Harding for many reasons, perhaps chief among them being that I am a Republican and believe in the principles of that party, in its constructive work, its sound sense, and its wise grasp of the vital issues of America. I believe Senator Harding is in sympathy with the things I believe in, that he has the bigness to realize that no man alone can control the destinies of America and the world, and that he possesses the wisdom to be willing to seek counsel, the keenness of judgment to discriminate, and the courage to execute. He expresses in his public utterances what I conceive to be sound Americanism. I believe that, if elected, he will surround himself with men of large caliber, of balance, of wisdom, and that helped by the advice of such men he will be a President who will lead the Nation along the lines of real progress.

FROM BOOTHE C. DAVIS
Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y.

Senator Harding seems to me to represent American ideals and citizenship, progressive without radicalism, constructive rather than destructive, sane and balanced in judgment, safeguarding American nationality with a world sympathy not inconsistent with National integrity.

FROM F. N. GUNSAULUS
Armour Institute of Tech., Chicago, Ill.

I shall vote for Harding in the hope that a little less of the stiff and hopeless partisanship on both sides may open a way for the use of the very machinery which Germany declined to honor in the past and which all nations must somehow honor in the future if we are to have peace and progress.

FROM BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER
University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

1. Because Governor Cox and his sympathizers give the clearest adherence to the "League of Nations."

2. Because the Republican candidate and his sympathizers represent the reactionary spirit in politics.

N. B.—Both as a Californian and as an American citizen, I regard the immigration question as far the most important now pending before the Nation. Senator Harding has spoken concerning it with decision and clarity. Should Governor Cox fail to speak with like decision, I think it probable that I shall vote for Senator Harding.

FROM C. A. DUNIWAY
Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.

On the whole, Harding represents the sounder tendencies of American political life. Then, man for man, in a personal sense, he seems to me the preferred candidate. I made my decision slowly, because of the League issue, but I am convinced that Harding as President would exercise sound discretion to keep the United States true to our essential international obligations.

FROM ERNEST MARTIN HOPKINS
Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

I shall vote the Republican ticket this fall because I believe administrative genius and practical definition of purpose on the basis of a broad and workable Americanism to be indispensable at the present time and most likely to be secured by Republican success.

The political parties necessarily represent a compromise among the divergent views of groups which compose their respective memberships. The two great parties are alike in that each represents a combination of liberals and conservatives. The Democratic party, however, much more definitely than the Republican, is under the necessity of concession to certain great groups whose support is dictated by provincial rather than National issues—such, for instance, as the Solid South and Tammany — and whose leaders, placed in authority, can less promptly and easily find a common denominator which will effectively secure co-operation for a quickly defined, intelligent, progressive administration of domestic and foreign affairs of the United States.

I have high admiration for the administrative genius of certain individual Democrats. Collectively, however, I believe the Republican party more likely to furnish the team work needed for our present exigencies.

FROM F. A. MCKENZIE
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

In reply to your inquiry concerning my choice of Presidential ticket let me say that I expect to vote for the Republican ticket and am earnestly desirous of its success for many reasons. In particular I am a believer in what we may call the "new nationalism," which, on the one hand, insists on the protection of the integrity and high standards of our Republic while extending the most cordial helping hand to the whole world, and, on the other hand, works in accord with the ever-increasing tendency toward National unity through Federal action which, in my opinion, is being worked out and will be worked out with the advice and co-operation of the best thought in our several State units. I conceive the Republican party to represent at this moment a policy of legalized and stabilized prosperity, order, and progress.

FROM WILLIAM MILLER COLLIER
George Washington Univ., Wash., D. C.

I favor the election of Harding because by training as well as in temperament he is, in my opinion, far better fitted for the Presidency than Cox; because he will restore Constitutional government, preserve a representative democracy, refrain from demagoguery, and give to the country an efficient Administration protecting and promoting the rights of each as well as of all, but without favoring or yielding to any group or any individual.

I favor Harding's election also because he stands for an association of the nations of the world to secure peace by agreement to submit international disputes of a justiciable character to the decision of arbitral courts with suitable sanctions, and to confer in a spirit of harmony as to other questions; and because he opposes the ratification of the Covenant of the League of Nations as submitted to the Senate by President Wilson. I believe that that Covenant would embroil this Nation in the quarrels of Europe and Asia; and that it would immensely increase the chances of war because in effect the decision as to declaring future wars would be made, so far as the United States is concerned, not by Congress but by one person, its representative in the Council of the League acting under the instructions of the President. No more reactionary step was ever taken. By the "Wilson Covenant" the President is given practically the same war powers as the Kaiser of Germany had; while the Council, in the method of its creation, the relation of its members to the states they represent, and its functions as to the determination of the great question of war or peace, resembles most closely the old German Bundesrath. This system was universally regarded as the greatest cause of the World War and as inherently incompatible with peace. We fought to destroy it. Let us not restore it by this fatuous Covenant.

FROM WILLIAM W. GUTH
Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.

I am an independent voter. I should have been glad to vote for a stronger man than any of those nominated. In any event, I should vote for the man exhibiting the greatest amount of brain power, and who, in my opinion, sensed most clearly our obligations to society—and our duties, international as well as National. Of the men nominated Mr. Harding is far to be preferred as possessing these qualifications, and I shall therefore vote for him.

FROM J. H. T. MAIN
Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa

I am in favor of the League Covenant, believing its provisions, carried out with even a moderate degree of success, would contribute to international good will, and hence to world peace and order. The United States, as a member of the League, if adequately represented in the League councils, could, by its economic supremacy, leaving ideal considerations out of the question, exercise a dominating influence for peace without advocating military in-

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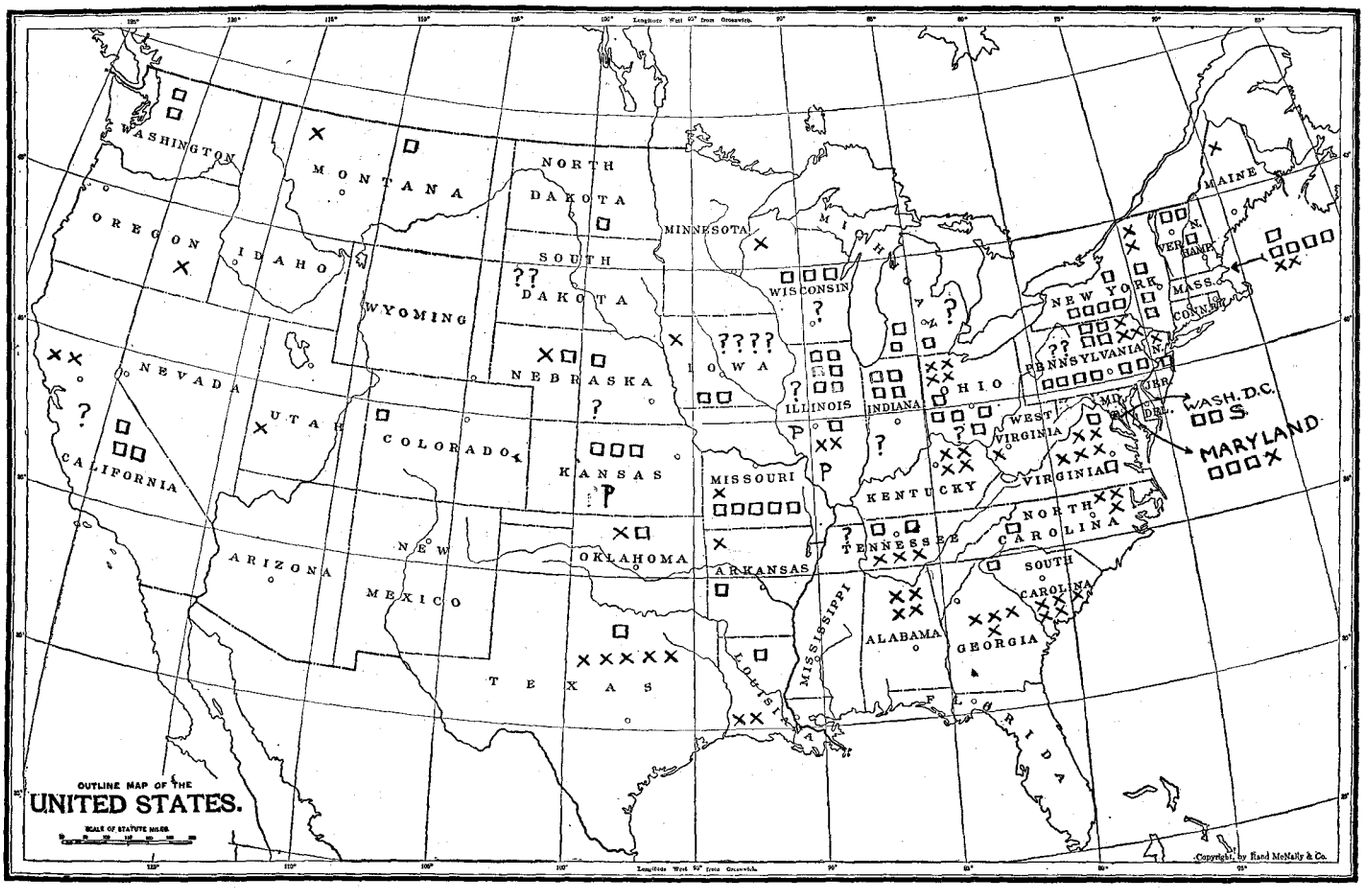

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE REPLIES

A square means a vote for Harding, a cross for Cox, an S for Debs, and a P for Watkins. The marks are located within the borders of the several States from which the votes emanated—no attempt has been made to locate their source more exactly. Some votes were received after this map was prepared

tervention. In agreement with many other students of the League, I find nothing in it to violate our Constitution, or that involves a surrender in any degree of our National independence.

For these reasons I am keenly disappointed in the Republican platform and in the addresses of Mr. Harding. He has repeatedly spoken against the League Covenant. His speech on August 28 is a heroic effort to win supporters of the League without offending Mr. Johnson and his followers. It is vague and unsatisfying. On the other hand, Mr. Cox has spoken repeatedly and with emphasis for the League.

Although I am a Republican, a Republican that did not vote for Mr. Wilson, and am without enthusiasm for Mr. Cox as a candidate, I want to express my convictions for the League by my vote. How can I do it? As yet, on this basis, I have not finally decided whether my vote shall be for Mr. Harding or for Mr. Cox.

From A. W. McWhorter
Hampden-Sidney College, H. S., Va.

Because he is a Democrat, progressive, courageous, and able, an advocate of the League of Nations, and a stout champion of the cause of the American people; because he is the opposite in every way of the reactionary, Senatorial-oligarchy Republican candidate.

From David Felmley
Illinois State Normal Univ., Normal, Ill.

A year ago the Leag of Nations was favord by eighty per cent of the reading, thinking, open-minded people, of this country. Why the change? Because of partisan politics. The desire of Republican politicians and their supporters to regain control of the administrativ machinery of our federal government.

Insted of a definit plan, carefully workt out and alredy accepted by over forty nations, many of them neutral in the great war, we now have the vague promis of an association of nations, the old Hague Tribunal with teeth in it, etc., apparently anything that wil last until after election. The Republican position is critical and negativ; the Democratic is positiv and constructiv.

From John H. MacCracken
Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

Like many Republicans who are in favor of the United States joining the League of Nations under such modifications of the Covenant, and particularly of Article X, as may seem necessary for the interests of the United States, and to meet Constitutional objections, I view with increasing apprehension the disposition of the Republican candidate to educate the people of America away from instead of toward the idea of a society of nations, and am not prepared at this time, therefore, to say how I shall vote in November.

From Herbert C. Noonan, S.J.
Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.

I believe that the Wilson-Cox League of Nations is rooted in injustice.

Such a League could not endure, and America, in promoting it, would violate the principles of equity and justice, on account of which our country entered the World War.

Though not an ideal candidate, Harding is nevertheless preferable to Cox.

From John M. Thomas
Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.

I shall vote for Senator Harding in order to express my disappointment in President Wilson's conduct of the peace negotiations and my belief that we are more likely to get an effective international organization under Harding, who knows the Senate and will work with it, than under Cox, who is committed to the Wilson attitude. I believe the rank and file of the American people are right in their conviction that the League Covenant as framed at Versailles is inconsistent with the fundamental American principle of representative government. I shall also vote for Senator Harding in order that I may vote at the same time for Governor Coolidge.

From Ellen C. Sabin
Milwaukee-Downer College, Wis.

1. Because Mr. Harding represents the principles stated in the platform of the Republican party.

2. Because he has been selected as the standard-bearer of the party that is true to the purposes declared in the Constitution of our country.

3. Because I believe he will work to secure a reasonable and possible League of Nations.

From Mary E. Woolley
Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.

Because the Democratic party has de-

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clared for the League of Nations. I am voting as an independent.

From Henry Churchill King
Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio

Because participation by America in the League of Nations seems to me to be far and away the most important issue in the campaign, and Mr. Cox's attitude on this subject is much more satisfactory.

From S. B. McCormick
University of Pittsburgh, Pa.

1. It is time we are getting back to Constitutional government. I have no sympathy with the idea that the Executive should have the right of way by placing Congress on the side track. Neither have I sympathy with any movement whereby the people, as a whole or any particular part of it, should legislate directly. This is a representative government and is neither an autocracy nor a democracy. The Republican party so believes, and I want the Republican party to elect Harding and Coolidge in November.

2. The Republican party believes in a judicial League of Nations as over against a political league. So do I most positively. The League to Enforce Peace has the right principles, even though some of those who have been its officers were supporters of the Paris League. The Hague Court is good enough without anything else if its machinery is made complete.

3. The Republican party is the safer party to which to intrust the industrial, business, economic, and financial affairs of the Nation. This has always been true. In this crisis of affairs it would be a calamity to continue the present party in power.

4. The contrast between both Mr. Harding and Mr. Coolidge, on the one hand, and Mr. Cox and Mr. Roosevelt, on the other, as indicated by their speeches, is a convincing argument for the election of the former.

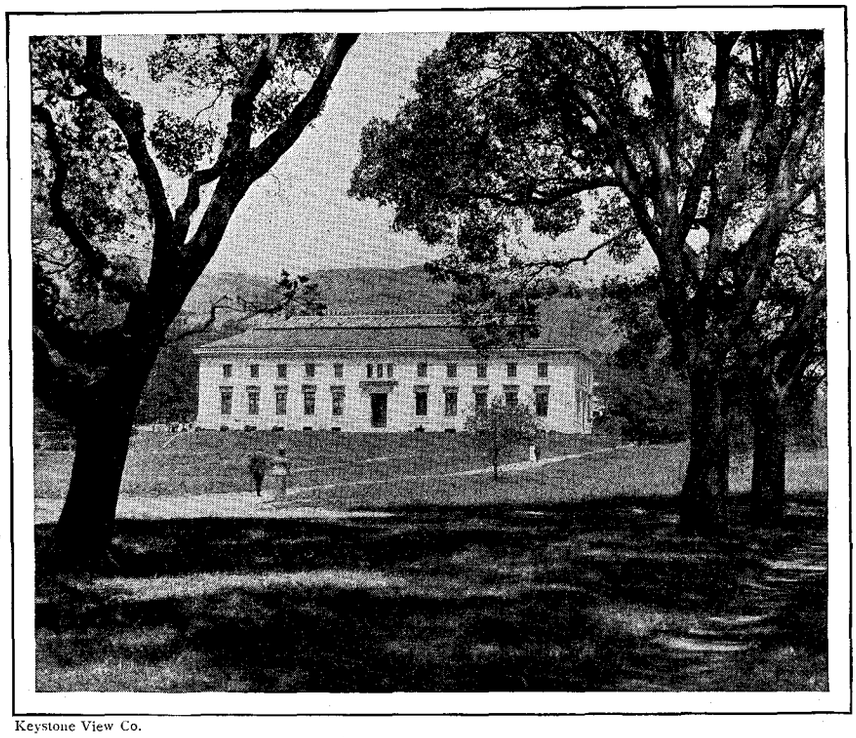
Maine has told us what will happen in November.

From Frederic B. Pratt
Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.

I shall vote for Mr. Harding because he represents the Republican party, and the Republican party by and large stands for the best principles of government in our country. Whatever Mr. Harding's personal views may be on the League of Nations, I believe he will represent the true sentiment of the country on this issue. Aside from this great question Mr. Harding stands for the right interpretation of our Constitution. He stands, moreover, for a policy of economy, efficiency, and wise administration in domestic affairs that is greatly needed at this time.

From W. E. Stone
Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.

I have always voted my convictions regardless of political parties. I shall vote for Harding because I believe that the greatest need of the United States at this time is an effective Government which shall deliver our domestic affairs from the present chaos, and because I believe that the United States can best exercise its traditional policy of help and friendship to weaker nations by maintaining its independence of action and freedom from entanglements in petty European politics. I see no hope for the accomplishment of these all-important ends under the present Administration or by the continuance of its policies.



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AT THE WESTERN LIMIT OF THE OUTLOOK'S POLL—A SCENE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The election of a President who can act in harmony with Congress is necessary before the present discorded conditions can be mended. We do not need experiments or radical reforms so much as a restoration to normal conditions in government, in the life of our people, and in our relations with other nations. Stability and efficiency in the Government in the United States means more for the safety of the world to-day than the League of Nations. The election of Harding is the only means available to the people of the United States at the present time for accomplishing these greatly to be desired ends.

From R. E. Blackwell
Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.

I shall vote for Mr. Cox in preference to Mr. Harding because Mr. Cox stands for a more forward-looking policy than Mr. Harding. I feel that Mr. Harding would be completely under the control of reactionary Senators whom Mr. Roosevelt constantly fought—men who think they can stem the tide of progress by repressive measures, and that they can keep the United States from taking its share of responsibility for the world's troubles.

From William T. Foster
Reed College, Portland, Ore.

I favor the Democratic candidate for President above other present possibilities, although I do not regard him as the man we should have for our next President. In qualifications for office in this time of critical and unprecedented need Herbert Hoover is notably superior to any of the party candidates and would, in my judgment, be our next President if we had a political system that would enable the people to elect their real choice. Under the circumstances, I favor the Democratic candidate because I believe that the extreme reactionary position of the Republican party, on the one hand, and the radical position of the Socialist party, on the other hand, are alike dangerous. Both tend to incite to unwise action many men and women who genuinely desire a better social order. Both are inimical to law and order.

From Palmer C. Ricketts
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Troy, N. Y.

Absolutely against the League of Nations in its present form. Believe that any man should be badly defeated who comes before the Nation as a candidate for President on a platform the main issue of which is the adoption of a League which might compel us to supply an army to help throttle aspirations for self-government of dependencies which in many cases were illicitly obtained.

From William J. Bergin
St. Viator College, Bourbonnais, Ill.

Traditionally I am a Democrat, and at the last Presidential election I voted for Woodrow Wilson. My reasons for changing my party affiliations are largely negative. To defeat the iniquitous Treaty of Versailles and its appended League of Nations is, in my judgment, the most imperative duty which confronts the American citizen to-day. I believe this document is the worst fraud which has ever been perpetrated upon the human race. I believe the men responsible for it are the worst traitors humanity has known since the days of Judas Iscariot. Mr. Cox has pledged himself to support this pact of plunder, tyranny, and hypocrisy, and therefore, in my judgment, he deserves the censure and reprobation of every man who believes in justice and liberty for all the children of men.

From W. A. Neilson
Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

The above vote represents only present intention and may be changed by later utterances of candidates. I make this choice

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because of the attitude of Harding towards the League of Nations. It is useless for any one who regards the League as the most important issue to vote for a man who is obviously trying to retain the support of Johnson and Borah.

FROM GEORGE F. BOVARD
University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.

I will cast my vote for Warren G. Harding because I believe he is the best man nominated for the Presidency at this time.

I am in hearty sympathy with ex-President Taft touching the League of Nations problem, and I believe under the Republican Administration it will be possible to get an international agreement which will go very far toward preventing war and in helping to bring about a better state of affairs throughout the world.

FROM ALEX. C. HUMPHREYS
Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J.

My reasons for preferring Warren G. Harding for the Presidency are, in the main, that he represents the Republican party, which should come again into office if for no other reason than to complete the defeat of the Democratic party and so give us an opportunity to recover from Wilson's Administration of disorganization.

I believe that Mr. Harding's policy with respect to the League of Nations and with respect to our internal affairs promises relief from conditions which are to-day most threatening. I further believe that Mr. Harding is meeting the issues frankly and consistently and that Mr. Cox fails in that particular. I think no comparison need be made with the three other candidates, as, in my opinion, they are out of the question.

FROM EMILIE W. MCVEA
Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.

I shall cast my *first* vote for James M. Cox because he has definitely pledged his support to the League of Nations and because he is not in favor of a high protective tariff. Such tariff, I believe, will increase prices to the oppressed American consumer and will be highly detrimental to the countries of Europe, depleted by a ruinous war.

FROM R. H. CROSSFIELD
Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky.

I shall vote for James M. Cox for the Presidency of the United States notwithstanding the fact that I am not altogether satisfied with Mr. Cox as the bearer of the Democratic standard. However, I shall support him because of the platform on which he stands, particularly its pronouncement on the subject of the League of Nations.

In the second place, I shall support Mr. Cox because his record of achievement, in my estimation, is far better than that of any of the other candidates.

FROM C. A. RICHMOND
Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.

1. Both upon his personal record and upon his public utterances, especially since his nomination, I regard Mr. Harding as altogether more desirable than any other candidate.

2. There is no important issue now before the country which would not be safer in the hands of the Republican party than in the hands of the Democratic party.

FROM EDWARD WEST NICHOLS
Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va.

The position of the Democratic party is constructive; that of the Republican party destructive. Both parties favor *a* league of nations, as do the people of the country generally.

The Democrats favor *the* League as formulated at Versailles, and are willing to accept restrictions, modifications, interpretations, or what not, so long as the essential features are not destroyed.

The Republicans are opposed to everything, though advocating *a league* with no clear idea of what they want nor how any plans that may be suggested can be affected.

FROM SAMUEL VALENTINE COLE
Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.

Mr. Harding's election will assure a reversal of the undemocratic methods that have disturbed the country in recent years, and a return to the Americanism of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Grover Cleveland, and Theodore Roosevelt.

His character means that he will never subordinate the public good to private advantage; his mental balance, that he will deal with questions in their entirety, and be the President, not of a party or of a class or of a geographical division, but of the whole people; his experience, that he will be able to work with others without sacrificing his intellectual independence, and to utilize the best wisdom available without fearing for his personal credit; his courage and political ideals, that he will stand for justice and humanity, and for an Americanism that will best enable America to help the world.

Pre-eminently, of all the candidates, he represents the doctrine of government of the people, by the people, for the people.

FROM STEPHEN B. L. PENROSE
Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.

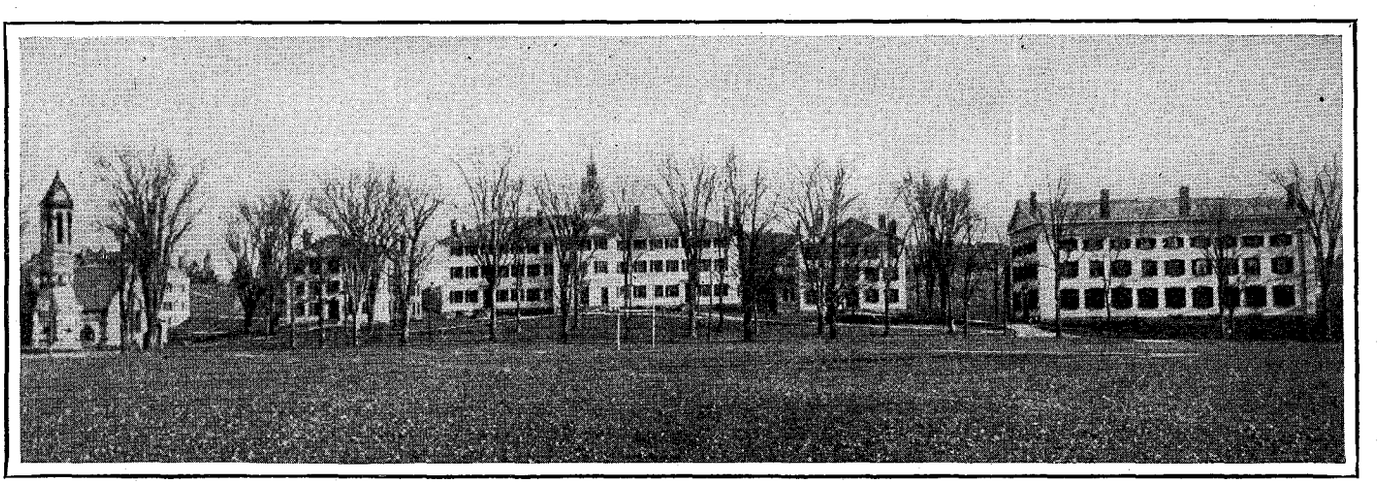
I object to a continuance of "personal government" and desire a closer return to the principles of the Constitution. I also believe that the Republican party is better to be trusted for the efficient management of National affairs.

FROM GEORGE L. OMWAKE
Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.

The foreign policy of the United States is the issue in this campaign. To me the Democratic platform proposes a far nobler position for America than does the Republican, and wherein the latter was weak Senator Harding has made the Republican position still weaker.

The League of Nations was framed by men as able as any the nations could produce. President Wilson, by reason of his twenty-five or more years of study and teaching of political principles and problems, in which he got an accurate knowledge of the political history of every nation involved in the making of peace, was the best man America could send to the Peace Conference. That he was surrounded by a group of specialists—geographers, ethnologists, economists, statisticians, linguists, etc.—rather than by politicians, was to his credit and the world's good. The Treaty will not be improved upon by any tampering that may result from putting its enemies into office. The League of Nations Covenant is what makes the Treaty great, and it is Article X that makes the Covenant great. Here we see America frankly facing her moral responsibility. And this is the heart of the issue. The Republican platform and candidate would substitute a lesser ideal for a greater, a weaker moral position for a stronger.

I shall vote the Democratic ticket in this election, not because I am a Democrat, but because I am a Christian.



Paul Thompson

NEAR THE EASTERN EXTREME OF THE OUTLOOK'S POLL—THE CAMPUS OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

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AN OPEN LETTER TO HEAD MASTERS

BY A SUB-MASTER

IT is my hope to improve the friendly relations which exist between us by establishing a better mutual understanding. We teachers generally realize your difficulties, while you, so it appears to us, often overlook the disadvantages inherent in our subordinate position. If you can be led to see the problems of school organization and management a little more through our eyes, not only will you gain a clearer vision of one of the great needs of the present system of private education, but also the other agent in that mutual understanding will be benefited through a greater share in your confidences about your affairs than we now enjoy.

There are two reasons why it is particularly difficult for us to approach you on this subject. In the first place, we are often on terms of great intimacy both with you and your families. We exchange calls and visits. We see you in most informal fashion both in and out of school. We enjoy music and the theater together, and often our common interests, intellectual and artistic, are followed so much together that a durable companionship results from a relationship originally simply that of employer and employee. In other words, the human side plays so large a part that the business aspect disappears. This makes anything approaching a criticism of the bond on its formal side appear ungrateful or even unfriendly. It becomes a little like asking a beloved relative to analyze and alter the relationship itself.

Then you so often select as your subordinates graduates from your own college. This adds to the strength of the bond, while at the same time it makes us more than ever reluctant to engage in a controversy on matters which may be better mended by being let alone. But the years have not produced the improvement of which the Great War has quickened our perception of the need. The democratic swing has reached the schools, even the private ones. New ideas and forces are astir in the educational world. That ancient enemy the H. C. L. is making the teacher on the stationary salary feel that his more fortunate counterpart in the business world should not be making better provisions for his family and his old age without some effort by the teachers to gain like recognition, to say nothing of higher salaries. So, with some substantial misgivings, but with a great confidence in the rectitude of our motives, we present for your consideration certain aspects of our relationship which you either have forgotten or have never realized.

The private school is a business proposition as well as an educational institution. How closely does its efficiency approach one hundred per cent? If we can point out ways by which this efficiency can be raised to a higher level, we shall have accomplished one of the purposes of this letter.

You control the finances and to us appear to manage your business as many other employers of labor, without consulting your employees. You plan the budget. You hire your teachers on the basis of individual bargaining. You keep the salary total as low as possible and reserve for yourselves as high a return as the business will allow. In all this you are entirely within your legal rights. But why not open your books to us? Let us confer with you on these questions of finance and management. You will find us more than ready to give you the extra time. May we not in consultation reach a wiser decision than you can alone? When we see that the financial success depends upon us too, our loyalty to you will be immeasurably increased. We shall feel that our interest in the school is material in the finest sense. Could you not even inaugurate a system of profit-sharing? Let your new teachers who have shown their fitness to your own and your faculty's satisfaction buy shares equal to those held by their older colleagues. This would produce a real spirit of co-operation where to-day you have passive acceptance of your management or a sometimes partially concealed discontent.

There are other problems of administration than the financial. How often do you bring them before your faculty? Some of us have studied school administration. We often have ideas of our own upon educational theory and practice. We are most of us specialists in some particular field. Is there not here a vast reservoir of expert assistance only waiting your word to be turned in full tide upon the problems which you face and decide so frequently in your own office alone?

What of the questions that you do call upon us to consider at faculty meetings? They are, in general, either petty matters of detail which you have not had time to think out or they are weightier matters upon which your mind is made up, the discussion of which by us is a mere form. "Ours not to reason why, ours but to do or die." If we happen to disagree with you, by majority or unanimously, do you heed our voice? If you disregard our corporate judgment, has it ever occurred to you to consider our feelings? Why should we give our best thought, to say nothing of our enthusiasm, to an expression of deep conviction or careful thinking which is likely to be overruled by you then or later? Are you not by such action turning your deliberative body into a hall of echoes?

What measure of discretion do you allow your departmental heads? How often do you practically impose upon them your own ideas, reducing their field for individual decision and responsibility to very meager proportions! Does your school gain by this? If you are universally minded, you will at least have an institution which is the reflection of your own thinking down to the minutest details. But even of this the wisdom is questionable, and more often you are hampering an expert whose action should be freest to gain its greatest efficiency. All necessary restriction and control could be exercised through faculty decision on major matters. If such a relation is established, you will find your advice and suggestions listened to with a respect which now they seldom receive. Acquiescence does not necessarily mean agreement.

In a word, we are bringing forward no less a question than the democratic control of school administration. Is your school really democratically organized in this respect? Is there any question, great or small, which we are not competent to express an opinion upon? Granted this competency, are there any problems which from all points of view cannot be better decided by the co-operative rather than the exclusive method? Where there are such, divide your faculty into committees and depend upon them for action. You immediately gain the immense advantage of making us feel that we share with you the responsibility for the success of the school in its larger administrative functions.

How have you reached the head mastership? Has it been through appointment, possession of necessary funds, or natural selection? If by appointment, has the owner or the board of trustees consulted the faculty either before, to gain the benefit of their advice, or after, to secure their indorsement of your tenure of office? If your mere possession of money enough to buy out the holder or holders has been the qualification, with your administrative and educational abilities of only secondary consideration, your legal position may be secure, while your democratic right is, to say the least, extremely dubious. We ask you, in such cases as this, not to think for an instant that we wish to disregard the institution of private property. We only ask that you realize that your leadership is artificial until you have gained the support of your faculty for all measures, administrative, financial, and other, which you wish to employ. If you cannot secure a majority vote, there are two, not three, courses open to you. You can either accept

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majority decisions or dismiss those teachers whose point of view is not in accord with your own. The one thing you cannot do is to disregard a majority and force through your measures by means of your legal power as owner of the school, for by this method you produce either a dull, inert acceptance of a yoke which is of economic origin or you drive discontent underground. Neither state is a healthy one. On the other hand, if you make dismissal of majorities your last recourse, what can honestly be said against the democratic method? Have you tried it? To us it appears very far from a selfish insistence upon what will benefit us. It is much more. It will safeguard the school and you and ourselves from the errors of single authority and unassisted headship. Perhaps we magnify your mistakes, as is natural with those whose duty it is to watch again and again the carrying out of designs in which we have had no part. But that there is some basis for our belief that you often decide wrongly and that the corporate opinion is wiser, in the long run, than that of the individual cannot be doubted. If, then, you have observed the democratic method, if your teachers have indorsed your headship, and if you abide uniformly by majority decisions, you are as one elected to high position by the exercise of the franchise. How many of you to-day would dare to allow complete discretion to your faculties in the matter of the selection of a head master? How often do you think the choice would fall upon you?

One more plea and I have done. Keep faith with us. Do not give us cause to doubt your word. Sometimes our salary checks do not come at the promised time. Sometimes, even, you fail to give us a promised increase in salary. Sometimes you have increased tuition with a public promise in your catalogue that the raising of teachers' salaries is the chief reason for the addition, and then you have permitted other running expenses to eat up the added revenue. How does this differ from gaining money under false pretenses? Sometimes you tell us that loans and mortgages must be reduced or paid off and that, if we will only be patient till this is done, we shall receive the much-needed increases. As a business proposition this means that a substantial equity is desired in the school, buildings, grounds, etc., before anything is added to the already large salary budget. But who benefits by this equity? You and you only. Who contributes to it? You and we. Without us you could not have made the equity a substantial financial fact. Why can you not divide the surplus into half and devote it equally each year to reduction of indebtedness and increase in salaries? We often feel sure that if we were consulted we would cut down your expenses. What do you gain by closing your books to us and adopting such secretive and dubious methods of financial management? If you tried the plan herein set forth, can any honest man believe that injury to any one or any interests would follow? Rather, you would produce a co-operative effort which would carry you and your school far toward that one-hundred-per-cent efficiency which we set before us at the outset of this letter. But you would do more than this. You would have shoulder to shoulder with you, in all great undertakings to which your school was dedicated, a loyal, enthusiastic group of teachers, at one with you in a joint labor of preparing in an absolutely democratic way the youth in your care for life in a democracy.

Your school is greater than you are. Even if you are not a very insignificant person or your school an extremely ineffective institution, it is far greater. The community which it is your profession to serve is becoming gradually aware of the fact that you regard your venture as an individual affair, both financially and educationally. In neither respect would you suffer if you heeded the democratic swing.

You often seem to think that you are the school. If it is an unwise policy for you to select your teachers without consulting your faculty, can you not see that it is well-nigh intolerable for us to be without tenure of office safeguards of any kind? If we have made for ourselves a substantial position in your school community—if, in other words, teachers, pupils, parents, and graduates are, as a whole, loyal to any one particular teacher, there has been created a complex bond which only the sensibilities of the despot would not suffer at severing without some form of trial before his peers. We teachers, therefore, in a spirit of friendliness and sincerity, but with all seriousness, bid you call us to the council table where you so frequently have preferred to sit alone.

THE SUBWAY, ELEVATED, AND AIRPLANE FROM A SENTIMENTAL POINT OF VIEW

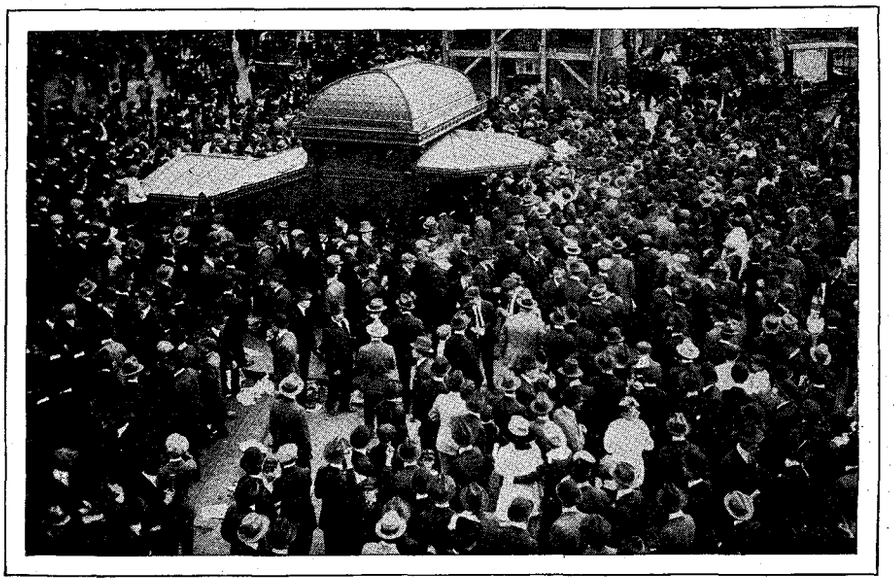
BY MARIA MORAVSKY

"HAVE you subways in Russia?" "God forbid, no!" I answered to my American friend, who undertook the hard work of showing New York to a greenhorn.

I really don't understand why you are so proud of this murderous invention. I am sorry if I hurt your patriotism, but subways always make a terrifying impression on a newcomer.

Every human being likes sun and the daylight; and here, in the middle of a glorious sunny day, one must crawl underground like a mole who is afraid of the rays of the sun. A Russian, who is accustomed to country life and big open spaces, naturally feels depressed when the American city offers him this dark fruit of its civilization.

Do you remember the fantastic novel of Wells, "The Time Machine"? Your subway makes me think of those underground creatures who are described in



"HAVE YOU SUBWAYS IN RUSSIA?" "GOD FORBID, NO!" ANSWERS MARIA MORAVSKY

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it; they were so crippled by the old civilization that they could not any longer stand the daylight. And they lived in the dark passages of the catacombs, although they were the rulers of the earth.

Here I see, too, "a ruler of the earth," a successful business man, diving involuntarily into the draughty cellar called subway for the sake of gaining time. Even the people who own automobiles sometimes ride in the subway.

I heard the story about a Chinaman who watched a crowd changing from the local to the express. "Why do they do it?" he asked, with surprise. "Both trains run in the same direction."

"To gain time," explained a polite American. "If we take the express train, we will be at the needed place fifteen minutes earlier."

"And what will you do with these fifteen minutes?"

This question seems silly to a New Yorker. But I understand the Chinaman and sympathize with him. What is the use of gaining a few minutes if you deprive yourself of comfort and sunshine? A little more money? But money exists for making people comfortable and, let us suppose, happy. Then why make one's self unhappy for the sake of it? It is a vicious circle.

I know this argument may appeal (if it will appeal at all) only to the people who can choose their ways of traveling. A shopping lady who has plenty of time may harken to the voice of reason, and take a bus or a trolley car instead of the overcrowded catacomb way. But the ever-hurrying business man would undoubtedly shake his head pitifully at me, while the workingman would sigh deeply and sadly if he happens to read this essay.

"I live so far from my work I have little time to sleep, and I must be at my factory promptly; I must hurry. Does she not understand it, that newly arrived Russian bookworm?"

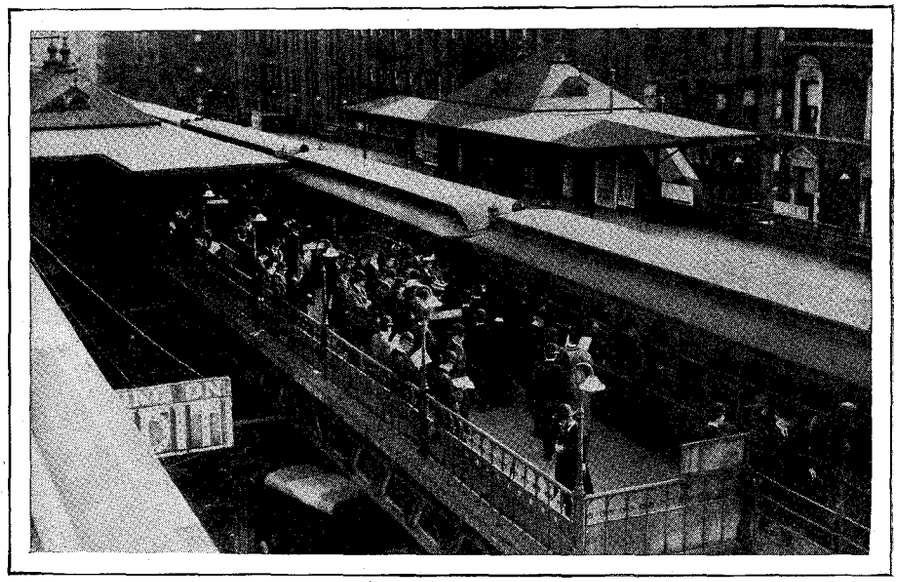
I do understand it. And it hurts me.

It makes me so sad to watch these enormous crowds hurrying every morning to their far-away shops and factories. It fills my heart with bitterness when I see them fighting for seats. You Americans are accustomed to it; it may not impress you any more. But I can see clearer and feel keener because I am a foreigner, a greenhorn; I see all the abnormality of things which you think normal. Your subway is against human nature.

I can imagine, even sitting in my room and typewriting these lines, how you smile with the air of a riper superiority.

"She is a sentimental woman, to make such a fuss over trifles."

You call it trifles? Very well. Figure out, please, how many millions of people use the subway every day. An enormous number, isn't it? Now how many hours all this crowd spends under the ground! Think how many glorious, sunny, cheerful hours of morning are stolen away from your people by the subway!



"WHY DO YOU PERMIT YOUR ELEVATED TO DEAFEN YOUR CHILDREN AND TO SHAKE YOUR BRAINS SO PITILESSLY?"

Don't you know what psychologists and physicians say about the great rôle which the sun plays in our life? I will not talk about its physical power; since the first epidemic of the famous Spanish influenza, when all the papers warned you against the overcrowded subways and praised the great value of sun and fresh air, everybody has been compelled to realize it. I want only to point out the moral influence of darkness.

We depend on the sun; we are still not artificial enough to free ourselves from its influence; in the gloomy, cloudy days the faces of the passers-by are never so contented as in the sunshine—even an ordinary observer can notice it. Nervous people in sanitariums are inclined to melancholy in gray weather; this tendency is so strong that in some of these institutions there are windows made of bright-yellow glass—to cheer the patients up by reminding them of the rays of the sun.

Especially helpful are such chambers with the imitation of sunlight in the insane asylums. I visited one of them in Russia and saw a patient who was slowly recovering. The doctor told me his case; it was black melancholy. The poor fellow imagined that he was thrown into the underground prison by the Czar and had to remain there for life. He seemed to regain his mind for a while only in exceptionally bright weather. The head doctor, who was a follower of the latest methods of cure, constructed a special room for his patient; the front wall of it was made of golden-yellow glass.

From the first day when the patient entered this chamber an expression of relief appeared in his eyes. He would sit for hours gazing steadily at the bright window; he forgot his dark vision.

You may say that the sun and daylight influence so strongly only abnormal and nervous people. But who of us in these wild times of wars and revolutions can consider himself quite normal, with sound nerves? If there is such a person on the earth, he must be a completely selfish creature.

We all need sun to be cheerful, especially in the early morning, when we are going to work. And at the time when we need it most the subway deprives us of it; this half an hour spent in the atmosphere of an artificial evening lowers our energy, our *efficiency*—this is the word, appreciated by every real American! Perhaps this will appeal to you.

You gain your precious fifteen minutes and lose fifteen unseen ounces of energy. You expose yourself to the draught and the unhealthy "germy" atmosphere. And you think you have won something!

"But, my dear foreign preacher, it is not a question of a free choice; we need the subway and must have it. Present circumstances—" says the New Yorker or the Chicago man.

That is the point. Down with present circumstances! Humanity will not lose anything if all the American factories, shops, and offices would open half an hour later, in order to permit people to arrive on time, choosing a decent way of travel. Suppose you dig up all your subways—

"What, to destroy them? Do you really mean it? Come, now, that is a foolish proposition," says the Chicago man with indignation.

I know that he will consider it a sacrilege, especially if he happens to have stock in the subway company. I hear him exclaiming:

"My goodness, so much effort, thousands of workingmen, hundreds of cars,

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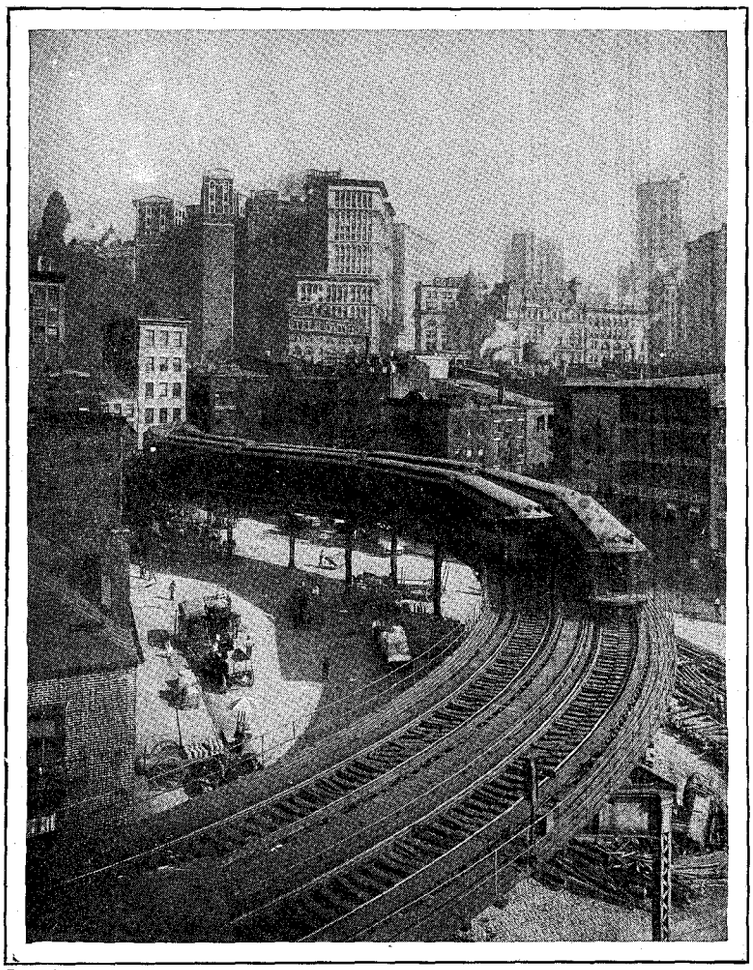

Brown Bros.

"THIS HUGE MASS OF IRON WHICH HANGS BETWEEN THE STREET AND THE SUN AND MAKES THE STREET SO HOPELESS"

a well-organized system of getting profit out of it—and to destroy it all! This would be foolish!"

Let me give you an example of a similar foolishness. In England before the war every year a few prisons were destroyed because of their uselessness. My heart beat joyously when I read the statistics which proved it. I don't believe there was any statesman who protested against destroying prisons just because they cost much. It would be as unreasonable as to keep all the machine guns after the future general disarmament.

Now the subway *is* a prison—a temporary prison; the imprisonment lasts for an hour perhaps, never longer. But why on earth are you, the free citizens, obliged to breathe the heavy air of these catacombs even for so short a time? A few tons of goods, a few thousand dollars, are made out of these sunny hours, of which you are deprived by the subway. All right, let us sacrifice these tons of goods and thousands of dollars. America is so rich that she can easily afford it.

I believe that under a better system of society, which must come, you will mercilessly destroy your subways. Or perhaps you will keep them just for a curiosity, together with Sing Sing and the electric chair—to show to the future generations how people tormented their fellow-men and how they tormented themselves.

II

I feel more in sympathy with the elevated, although this way of traveling also bewilders a newcomer from Europe. Maxim Gorky, who visited the United States a few years ago, wrote his impressions about it in such a manner that every Russian who read it thinks the elevated to be a tool of torture.

Certainly he exaggerates a little. He paints the poor elevated with the darkest colors and has no pity for it at all.

I am more optimistic about the elevated road. It seems to me that its greatest advantage, compared with the subway, is fresh air and—don't smile—a wonderful view from the windows.

Of course this view is rarely beautiful, although a park or a river passes sometimes before your eyes. The brightest thing which one can see from the car window is washing hung out to dry. But for a person who likes to observe the life and the customs of a new country the elevated is the most precious means. If I ever write a study of American famiily life, the elevated would help me a lot. One can observe both the tragic and the comic side of intimate human life from the windows of its cars.

I suppose these cozy old brownstone houses which I often see along the elevated track were built by quiet, peace-loving folks. The road robbed them of privacy, overcame them with an unbearable roar. It must be a tragedy for the aged people who remember the past quietude of the old New York.

I can picture to myself those far-away times when I look at the old gravures of the city. I saw a picture of the Bowery without the elevated. It looked then like a quite decent street.

Would you like to know the opinion of a Chinese student about the present Bowery? This is what I read in the "World Outlook:" "Even the Bowery is not really dirty; only dark because of the elevated and noisy because of the trucks."

In order to understand properly these few lines one must take under consideration two facts: The Chinese are extremely polite and their own cities are extremely dirty. So, if you translate the cautious opinion of the Chinese student into the ordinarily frank language it would mean: "The Bowery is awful, but it might be worse."

I would not say that it might be worse. I admit, with the frankness of a Russian barbarian, that I cannot imagine anything equally bad. This huge mass of iron which hangs between the street and the sun makes the street so hopeless! What a hell it means to live in this gloomy place, filled with everlasting noise! Doctors say that the children who play here grow up partly deaf.

And you have similar streets in Chicago, in Boston, in Philadelphia. Why does not your Department of Health forbid people to live there?

I have no wicked desire to destroy your elevated, but I would be glad to see the tenants saved from it. The elevated would be all right if it ran along a deserted place and did not disturb anybody. Why not make storehouses out of all the houses which stand along its way? Do you think that this reform would cost more than the nerves and the health of the people are worth?

Your municipalities are the protectors of the population. Is it not so? Then why is human health and happiness valued so little in big American cities? Why do you permit your elevated railway to deafen your children and to shake your brains so pitilessly? It seems strange and abnormal to a foreigner who heard abroad that America

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is ruled by the people and for the people.

III

The best way of traveling is in an airplane; I always said that even before I flew myself.

But before proving it to you I will tell of my first experience of flying. I am still full of recollections; I simply must share them with somebody.

I always dreamed of flying in an airplane, and my dream was realized when I came to America.

As I came here shortly after the last revolution, the Russian immigrants were greatly interested in my lectures; everybody wanted to know how free Russia looked, how the streets looked without the mounted policemen and the walls of the public buildings without the pictures of the Czar. People were thirsty for details, because the sudden revolution seemed so unbelievable without them.

Naturally the lecturer who could furnish them with such details was in favor. My enthusiastic hearers from Los Angeles and San Francisco would say:

"Express your desires, Miss Moravsky; we will do everything for you."

At the beginning I was modest and moderate. In San Francisco I asked only for roses and automobile drives. Flowers attracted me because I came through the snowy Siberia, and automobiles because they are so rare in Russia. In California even workingmen can afford them, and it was a delightful surprise for me.

Well, they would bring me roses and take me on the twenty-hour joy-rides until I was dog-tired and began to hate automobiles. Then I left San Francisco and went south.

In Los Angeles I grew bolder and started to express more desires:

"I want to be on the film and to fly in an airplane," I said to my amiable countrymen.

To my surprise, they took it seriously. I will not boast how many feet of film they spent on me and how the best kino-operators of the city worked "day and night" to make me on the film as sweet-looking as possible. I hope I will find yet another occasion for boasting. But I cannot resist describing my first trip in an airplane.

There was no airplane in Los Angeles, so my new Russian friends decided to send me to San Diego. We found a Swedish aviator. The Swede taught people how to handle airplanes. He was the owner of two weather-beaten seaplanes which were continually repaired and always had "troubles with the motor."

If somebody told me before my trip that I would fly, by my own free will, in an airplane with a damaged motor, I would have answered with dignity:

"Whom do you take me for? I like adventures, that's true, but I am not so careless as I seem to be. Safety first!"

But I forgot this golden American saying, "Safety first," after I watched the Swedish fellow for a few days.

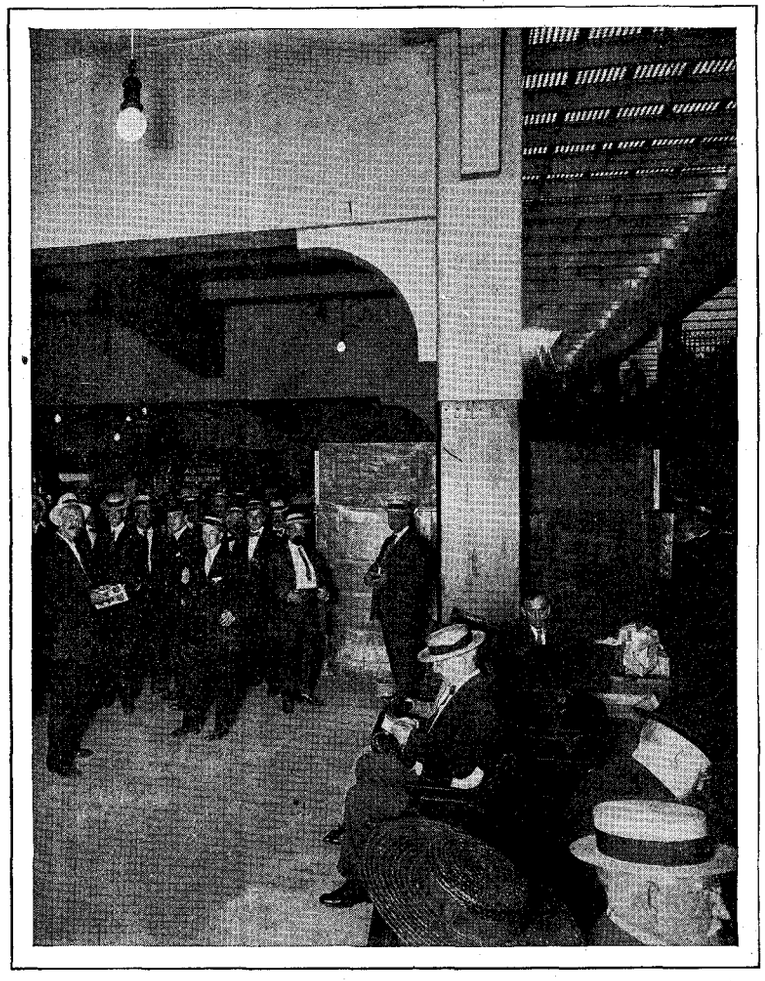
He had tried his newly repaired seaplanes. He would fly above the sea, and when he was high enough to break his neck "the trouble with the motor" would start. The whole week he struggled against these obstinate motors; when one seaplane failed, he would try the other.

I don't understand why he was not killed. Once I saw him departing in such misty weather that after a few moments his machine was out of sight. Of course he was lost, and by some miracle landed on a small deserted island near the Government aviation camp.

The next day he flew again.

I understood his psychology and became infected by it. To fly an airplane was every-day work to this man, and he had become accustomed to the danger, as the soldiers in the trenches become accustomed to battle.

As I watched him I grew more and more impatient.



"IN THE MIDDLE OF A GLORIOUS DAY ONE MUST CRAWL UNDERGROUND LIKE A MOLE WHO IS AFRAID OF THE SUN"

"Why don't you take me with you? I want to fly. When will you take me?" I asked every morning.

"Be patient; my machines are in too bad a condition, you see. It would be dangerous for you."

"So it is for you. You might as well fall into the sea together with me, instead of practicing it alone almost every day. You say 'danger,' but you are not killed yet, in spite of all your 'practice trips.'"

"But you saw yourself how unreliable they were."

"Yes, I have seen it for six days. It gets on my nerves to watch you. Every time when you disappear in the clouds I fear that now you have disappeared forever. I am sure it would be less trying to go with you."

"As you like. Let us go this afternoon. I hope the motor will be less capricious."

All the morning I trembled lest the aviator change his mind. He and his pupils tormented the poor weary seaplane with a dozen tools, and after a few hours of work the aviator said that we could go.

He gave me a funny knit cap and

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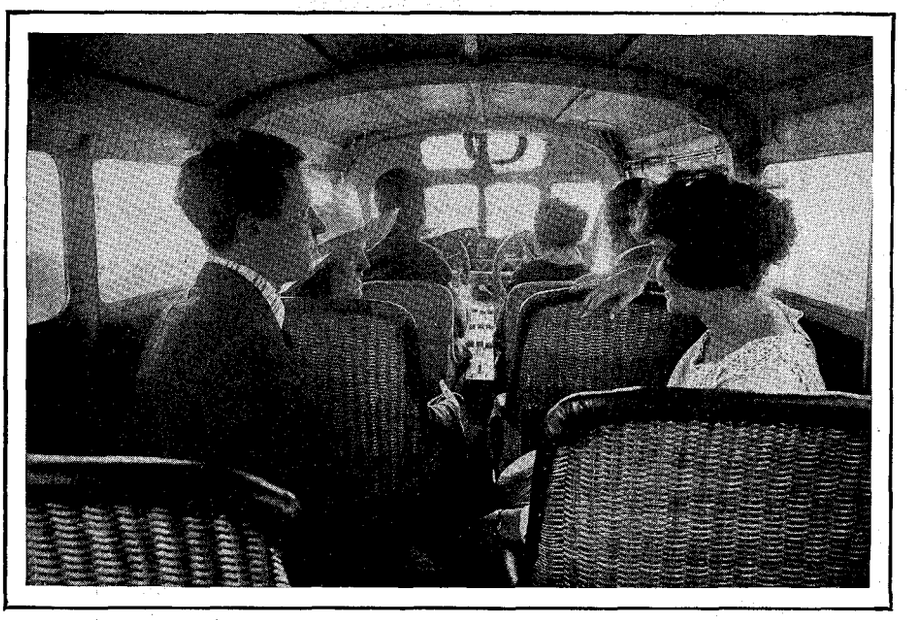


"THE BEST WAY OF TRAVELING IS IN AN AIRPLANE"

big spectacles, and said that I must keep them on my forehead until we left the water, and only then place them on my nose.

"Otherwise the glasses would become misty and you will see nothing."

Then he took me unceremoniously in his arms as if I were a bag of ballast and put me on my seat.

"Be quiet and don't touch the lever."

Then he jumped inside himself and ordered his boys "to crank the old Ford." I heard a devilish noise and felt great joy.

"For the first time in my life I am leaving my old earth," I thought. "One moment more and I will taste the freedom of birds! Is it not wonderful?"

I was so occupied with the analysis of my "rare feeling" that I did not notice when we got up. The aviator tugged my sleeve and cried loudly into my ear:

"Put on your goggles! Put them on!"

I obeyed mechanically and listened with surprise:

"Don't you like to look at the scenery below?"

"What! We are up already!" I exclaimed, and quickly bent my head. I saw the city falling downward. A few sailors waved their oars in greeting to us.

The movement of the plane was so smooth that I scarcely noticed it.

When we had flown higher, the gulf from above looked as still as if it were painted. The waves seemed immobile. But you have read all these descriptions somewhere before, I believe, so I will not continue them.

A few minutes later I felt the warm hand of the Swede grasping my wrist; I turned my head and asked:

"What is the matter? Are we going to fall?"

"Not yet. I just wanted to feel your pulse—to find out how much you are frightened."

He smiled provokingly. I wanted to retort that it is not a proper place to flirt, but in that very moment our plane swung suddenly down; the aviator loosened my hand and became earnest.

The airplane made a few jumps more, but after every one of them it would lift itself up again; it was a delightful sensation and reminded me of swinging on a gigantic swing. But the aviator seemed not to enjoy it at all; after an unusually big jump he said, gravely:

"I guess we had better sail home."

And then I understood that we had "trouble with the motor."

The few minutes which followed his words were not at all agreeable. I waited with impatience for our landing, and was very grateful to feel again the safe old earth under my feet.

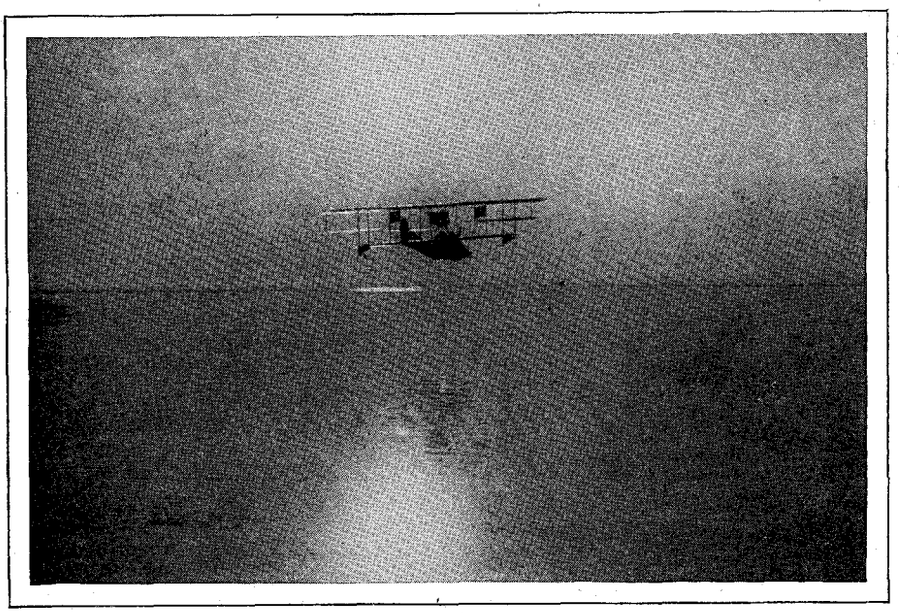
Certainly it is the best way of traveling, provided that you have no trouble with the motor; fresh air, beautiful scenery, and smooth movement. I think one would never get tired of flying if there were not such a devilish noise of the motor. It is simply deafening! But there are devices invented already for reducing this noise. They have been rarely applied, because airplanes till to-day were never intended for regular passenger service. They have been used mostly for war purposes, and men who fly at the front don't mind the roar; they hear plenty of gunfire, and what is the difference, then, if your airplane makes an additional noise?

Besides, these devices lower the lifting power of airplanes. And governments care so much about the weight of bombs which an airplane should carry!

Now that the war is over, what will you do with your air fleet? Even the most conservative of your newspapers advocate an air mail service. Why not go further, and make regular traffic lines for carrying passengers? I imagine, with enthusiasm, how I would fly downtown in an airplane instead of taking a slow trolley car or the hated subway.

I am afraid it will not be established next week. Traveling in an airplane is not safe enough yet. The insurance companies would ask, together with the question, "Have you heart disease?" another question, "Do you go to your office by airplane?" and would refuse to insure you at the normal rates if you said, "Yes."

But I believe that by and by airplanes will be as safe as trolleys. I hope that now, in this time of reconstruction, people will cease inventing devices for killing, deafening, and poisoning one another; the future inventions will be devoted to the improving of our trampled life. And very soon every one of us will be given wings to fly—moral wings as well as artificial ones.



"THE GULF FROM ABOVE LOOKED AS STILL AS IF IT WERE PAINTED"

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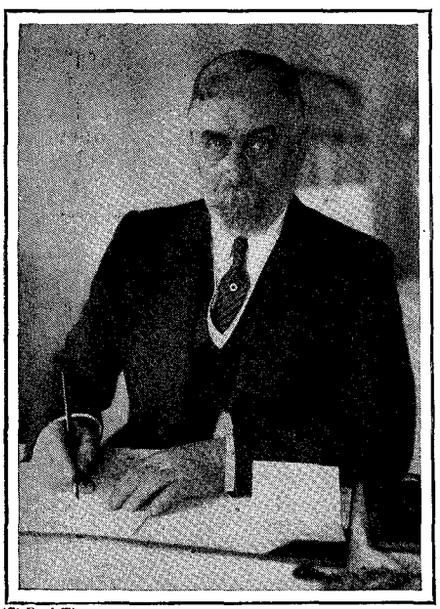
THE BOOK TABLE: DEVOTED TO BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS

AMONG THE NOVELS[1]

ARE there, in the scores of novels that the presses are turning out in scores of thousands of volumes this autumn, many, or even any, that will be read twenty years hence? One needs to be an optimist to predict such success of any large proportion of the new fiction. Yet at least the quality, if not supremely high, is fairly even; there are many novels that entertain, not a few evince knowledge of life and character, some show an honest striving not after popularity but after art for art's sake. No one can begin to read all that are offered, with such lavish catering for the novel-reader as this season of the year always calls out. Nor will there be anything like a general agreement as to which stories are entitled



(C) Paul Thompson

SIR GILBERT PARKER

to stand in the first rank. But there are some which will generally be accepted as notable for authorship, workmanship, or grasp on the imagination. Several novels clearly deserving this classification have already been named in the "Book Table," others are on the verge of appearing; a number may here be grouped together.

Two stirring tales of romance and adventure, each with a fine historical setting and background and with cumulating action and well-proportioned construction, are Sir Gilbert Parker's "No Defense" and "Erskine Dale," by the late John Fox, Jr. The Canadian author has a strong central figure in the young Irishman, Dyck, who is obliged to plead "no defense" to the charge of having slain his sweetheart's father. He does not know whether it was his hand or another's that killed a traitor and liar. The time is soon after the French Revolution. Dyck, after a prison term, enters the British navy as a common sailor, takes part in a revolt against the treatment of the sailors then common—flogging, rotten food, bad pay—seizes command of a war-ship, sails it with his crew of mutineers to the West Indies, and saves the day for England in a great sea fight between French and British. He thus earns a limited pardon for his mutiny, and later in Jamaica again shows his courage and leadership in putting down a revolt of the Maroons (free Negroes) against the whites. All this is the bare framework on which are fitted dramatic situations and incidents, vivid pictures of West Indian forest and plantation life, and an appealing love tale. The book has dash, fire, and romance. So also has the posthumous tale by John Fox, Jr. The author in what was unhappily to be his last work turned his attention from the subject he had made peculiarly his own—the life of the mountain people of the South after the Civil War—to the colonial days of Virginia and the outbreak of the American Revolution. The result is perhaps the very best of his many romances. His Erskine, as a boy captive among the Indians, as a half-wild but brave and intelligent lad restored to the aristocratic Virginian family to which he belonged, as an adventurer on the border, and as a fine, patriotic Virginian when the great struggle begins, is an attractive and manly figure. The flow of the story is clear and strong; it has atmosphere, movement, and distinction.

Of quite a different type, dependent for their appeal upon subjective study of character and motive rather than upon action and romance, are four recent books by English authors. Mr. Maurice Hewlett's "Mainwaring," a study of life in the '80's, certainly does not recall the passion of his "Forest Lovers," nor the amiable humor of his "Half-Way House." But it is searchingly true in its contrast between the erratic demagogue, a fitful man of genius, driven by ambition rather than by principle, who becomes a Member of Parliament, and his simple, true-hearted, fine-natured wife, a housemaid when he married her, who refuses to follow him in his social career and even after he is in Parliament acts as housekeeper in her own house. The political part of the story is not excessively interesting, although it has capital pen sketches of Disraeli and Gladstone under slight disguises. Like all Mr. Hewlett's writing, the literary execution of the book is admirable in its finish and quiet effectiveness. Mr. W. B. Maxwell's "For Better, For Worse" is a story with an object, in the sense that it attacks the British divorce law, under which it is possible, the author declares, to see "a perfectly pure and good woman immolated." But the reader cares less for the controversial purpose of the study than for the infinitely pathetic appeal of Claire, who is the victim of her own innocence and unselfishness. She falls into the hands of a husband who is blustering, self-seeking, brutally minded, and without any comprehension of honor. A more moving fiction character than Claire is not often drawn—and all the more so that the author refrains from forcing the note of pathos. There are a few passages in the book that may offend taste by their baldness of statement, but the impact and purport of the novel are the reverse of immoral. Mr. Aumonier will be remembered as the author of "The Querrils." Like that, "One After Another" is a study of English family life under peculiar circumstances. Heredity and its curious

JOHN FOX, JR.

results play a prominent part. One after another, as the title intimates, generation follows generation in taking up the duties and burden of living. The brother and sister, here followed from childhood to maturity, are singularly unlike, yet each faithful to type. Naturally the interest is of the quiet rather than of the exciting order, but the situations are well thought out and the human interest and humor of sound quality.

Mr. W. D. Howells's posthumous book, "The Vacation of the Kelwyns," has incorrectly been called a suppressed novel—withheld would be the better term. Its publication was not put off for any reasons that affect its literary or moral validity. It is a finely wrought out presentation of American life and character, with interesting sketches of the Shakers and of the reaction of their tenets and practices on the minds of ordinary Americans. It is quiet and restrained, but by no means boresome. Much the same comment may be made on Mr. Gordon H. Gerould's "Youth in Harley." Mr. Gerould here carries on the Howells tradition in that he is more anxious to interest readers in what his characters are than in what they do.

[1] No Defense. By Gilbert Parker. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.
Erskine Dale, Pioneer. By John Fox, Jr. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
Mainwaring. By Maurice Hewlett. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.
For Better, for Worse. By W. B. Maxwell. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.
One After Another. By Stacy Aumonier. The Macmillan Company, New York.
The Vacation of the Kelwyns. By W. D. Howells. Harper & Brothers, New York.
Youth in Harley. By Gordon Hall Gerould. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
The Little House. By Coningsby Dawson. Illustrated. The John Lane Company, New York.
The Devil's Pawn. By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.
Famous Psychic Stories. Edited by J. Walker McSpadden. The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York.
The Middle Passage. By L. Frank Tooker. The Century Company, New York.

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The book is one to read leisurely, to keep pace with the people in this New England town of a generation ago, as their gentle ambitions and personal emotions and affections act and react on those about them. The young school-teacher who comes as a stranger to Harley is an honorable and ambitious young American college graduate; through his eyes we see the townspeople with their peculiarities, foibles, and generally fine, sturdy natures. His love story, too, has charm and sober romance. Certainly the narrative is not exciting, nor is it rapid in movement, but it is sincere in its mild realism and finished carefully in its detail workmanship.

Mr. Dawson's "The Little House" is really a Christmas story—and a very delightful and charming one. It has relation to a war tragedy, but out of tragedy grows a happy love story. The fanciful manner in which the story is told by the old house in which the scenes take place is beautifully conceived and finely carried out.

Mr. Oppenheim turns out his popular stories perhaps a little too quickly. At all events, "The Devil's Pawn" is far from being his best work. It has a war plot based on the not very exciting and certainly not very probable conception of an agreement between German and English laboring men and Socialists to stop the war by a universal labor strike in both countries.

Mr. McSpadden's collection of "Famous Psychic Stories" is one of half-way ghost stories; that is, the emphasis is laid on the word psychic in the title, whereas in the author's collection of "Famous Ghost Stories," as he says, the old-fashioned spook predominates. One of them, Dr. Funk's account of the famous "Widow's Mite," left with him by Henry Ward Beecher and later asked about by Mr. Beecher's spirit (as Dr. Funk believed) and found hidden away in a safe, purports to be a literal relation of fact. Of the fiction stories, few of which will be known to the majority of readers, we award the prize for fantastic ghoulishness to Mr. W. F. Harvey's "The Beast with Five Fingers," which has an uncanny realism, even more calculated to make the flesh creep than an out-and-out ghost story.

Mr. Tooker's "Middle Passage" is an exciting tale of the old days of the slave trade and of the sea adventures of a boy who is thrown into the "middle passage" life, partly by accident and partly through his own adventurous spirit. Mr. Tooker always writes of the sea with sympathy and knowledge, and we are inclined to think that this is the most vivid and exciting book he has written.

THE NEW BOOKS

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

United States (The). By Carl Becker. Harper & Brothers, New York.

Interesting, and would be valuable as a brief and rapid résumé of America's early history and political problems were it not for one fatal defect. It lacks that aspect of detachment which we used to expect from college professors in dealing with debatable topics. The Civil War the author regards as waged for "the subjugation of the Southern people (which) must be justified, if at all, on two grounds." He attempts the justification; but probably no loyal supporters of the Government in 1861 would have agreed that the war was waged for the subjugation of the Southern people. He quotes with approval the extraordinary statement of President Wilson that any intervention in Mexico was "against the permanent happiness of the Mexican people," and that the Mexican people had a right to take as much time as they wished and spill as much blood as they pleased without our intervening. His report concerning the recognition of Panama and the construction of the Panama Canal despite Colombia's endeavor to halt it would be inexcusable even in a partisan journal of that period. And the complicated and perplexing problem of our duty toward the Russian people is dismissed in a sentence which assumes that the "soviet government of Lenine" is a civilized government, whereas whether it is any more a civilized government than was the "Red Terror" in Paris during the days of Robespierre is at least a debatable question. Such a book must be read with the same caution with which the wise man reads the current political press during the Presidential campaign.

BIOGRAPHY

Charles Chapin's Story. Introduction by Basil King. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

One takes up this book with the feeling that it would better have remained unwritten, becomes fascinated with its stirring account of a successful newspaper man's career, and then reverts to the first impression that the recital of the morbid psychological conditions that led to the author's crime does not make wholesome reading. Nevertheless the book is one of the most remarkable that ever came from within prison walls

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Idling in Italy. By Joseph Collins. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Readers who take up "Idling in Italy" with the expectation of finding a series of light travel sketches will experience a severe mental jolt. If the author idled while gathering the material for these learned critical essays on Italian literature, what grist did he grind in his working hours? That is not to say that Dr. Collins's chapters are not entertaining as well as keen and illuminative. Some of his themes are in lighter vein, but scarcely any would suggest "idling" except to a gormand for work.

Through Central Borneo. By Carl Lumholtz. Illustrated. 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

These well-made and well-illustrated volumes recall the best traditions of prewar books of travel and exploration, and it is a pleasure to find the old standards for such books again in vogue. Mr. Lumholtz knows how to write entertainingly as well as how to observe with scientific accuracy, and his new work will be welcome alike to the general reader and to the anthropologist.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Life and Letters of St. Paul (The). By the Rev. David Smith, M.A., D.D. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

This book is disappointing. The notes indicate that the author possesses minute scholarship, but the text does not indicate that he possesses spiritual insight. To our knowledge of the external circumstances of Paul's life it adds little or nothing not already given in better form by Conybeare and Howson and by Ramsey; and it adds nothing to the spiritual interpretation of Paul furnished by Sabatier and by Matheson. It will be of more use to the preacher than to the layman, and of more use to the theological student than to either. But its theological interpretations are mainly of the old school and interpret Paul's theology as scholastic and legal; in our judgment, his letters should be interpreted as those of a missionary and an evangelist, and something of a mystic.

EDUCATIONAL

Education for Democracy. By Henry Frederick Cope. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This little volume contains many excellent suggestions on the subject of education for democracy, and is worth reading both by teachers and by parents. But it is not always self-consistent, nor does it seem to us well grounded in fundamental principles. Its definition of religion will not satisfy religious thinkers: "That spirit and ideal which we call religion views man as set in the eternal processes of the universe, with an eternity behind in which he has grown, and an eternity before in which he yet may grow." Professor James has shown very clearly that universal world-usage justifies the statement that religion always involves faith in some superhuman Power or Powers, and some interest in man to work in harmony with that Power or those Powers. And Mr. Huxley's definition of education as including the training of the affections and the will into a life of earnest and loving obedience to law emphasizes the truth that there is a Lawgiver who deserves our affectionate obedience. We do not see that Mr. Cope in his interesting book solves, or even states, the problem how boys and girls can be fitted for citizenship in a great Republic without some training in this personal religion, nor how this training in personal religion can best be furnished in a Republic constituted as ours is with absolute freedom of the State, and therefore of the public school, from ecclesiastical authority. There is before the American people to-day no more important problem than this.

MISCELLANEOUS

Garden of Peace (A). By F. Frankfort Moore. Illustrated. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Pleasant reminiscences and whimsical conversations about the author's flower garden, with his kindergarten—if his five temperamental children may be so termed—as an unobtrusive background. The book will delight people who like to mix imagination and reflection with their gardening and their reading.

What's on the Worker's Mind. By Whiting Williams. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

If employers generally could be persuaded to read this book, labor conditions would surely be improved. It is an account of the experiences of a young business man who put on overalls and worked as a laborer in steel mills, iron and coal mines, and shipyards. The conversations with his fellow-workers, the details of living conditions, and the author's reflections make a story of "How the Other Half Lives" that Americans will read with mingled feelings of shame and of determination to bring about better things in industry.

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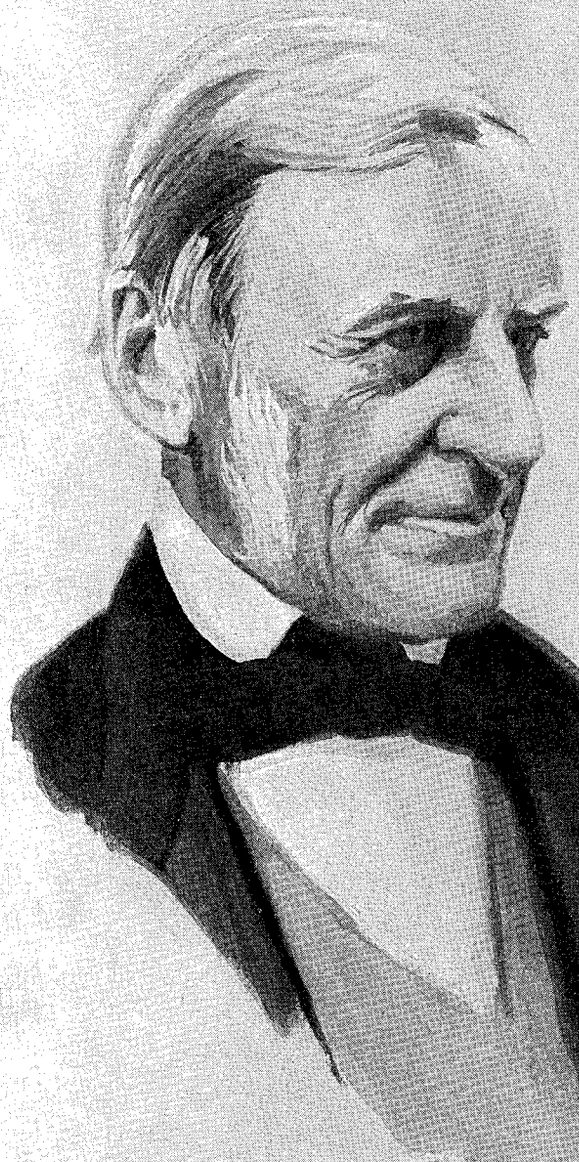
"Nothing great was ever achieved without enthusiasm"

—*Emerson*



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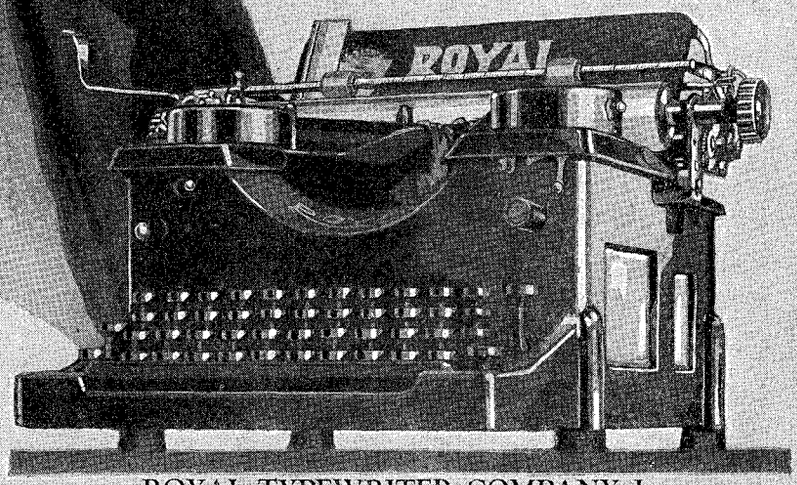

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THIS WEEK'S OUTLOOK

A WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY[1]

BY J. MADISON GATHANY

SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

College Presidents and the Election

ARE you perplexed as to how you should vote, or do you see clearly for whom you should vote, and why?

Some consider this the most important Presidential campaign since the Civil War. What reasons might there be for considering it such?

Have you any doubt as to the part America should play in re-establishing and maintaining peace throughout the world? What reasons have you for your answer?

Do you think it is the duty of a qualified person to vote on November 2, even though he is decidedly dissatisfied with the candidates and the parties?

Do you understand the difference between the Hague plan and the League plan in dealing with international affairs?

Have we a political system that enables the people to elect their real choice of public officials? If you think we have not, can you explain how such a system would differ from the one we have?

What value do you see in our college presidents telling how they are going to vote?

The Outlook found it impossible to publish all the answers received from college presidents. What is the function of an editor in such a case? What should guide him in the selection of the material which he does publish? How far should he merely report what was sent in and how far should he interpret such material?

In an editorial entitled "How I Shall Vote and Why" Dr. Lyman Abbott gives reasons why he is going to vote for Harding. In what respect do you or do you not agree with him?

Can you state in three or four sentences what Dr. Abbott believes democracy is?

Has the Democratic candidate a democratic attitude?

Define carefully: *Anonymity, cynicism, paramount, puerile, militate.*

Mr. Harding's Recent Speeches and the Right to Bolt

From what Senator Harding said at Des Moines, is it fair to conclude that he has changed his mind on the League of Nations?

Do you think Senator Harding would be unwise to pledge, in advance of election, the exact form of an association of nations he would sanction?

What is the Republican attitude toward the League of Nations? Why, in brief, do you agree or disagree with it?

The question of our foreign relations is receiving much attention during this campaign. Which of the two leading Presidential candidates is, in your opinion, better qualified to direct our foreign relations for the next four years?

There are those who believe that the people of the United States are not in the habit of electing Presidents with the knowledge of foreign affairs that such a position naturally demands. Do you agree or disagree with this belief? Should we give special consideration to this qualification?

Is there a strong tendency in this campaign to misrepresent what our Presidential nominees say? If you think so, how do you account for it? If a good cause could be greatly aided through misrepresentation, would you consider it immoral to misrepresent?

What is meant by bolting a party? In your opinion, under what conditions only should a voter bolt his party?

In 1912 Mr. Roosevelt bolted the Republican party. Why did he? Do you think there was sufficient cause for him to do so? Were the results of his action good or bad?

How essential to democracy is the right of private judgment? Is there any one thing more essential?

Do you agree with Mr. Parsons or with Mr. Crowell as to what the primary issue of this campaign is?

President Wilson and Senator Spencer

For what reasons is so much attention being given to what Senator Spencer said about President Wilson's statements to certain Balkan States?

What are the two versions of the President's remarks? From what the President actually said, which is quoted in The Outlook, is it fair to conclude that Rumania and Serbia were led to believe that the United States would send military forces to defend their territories if they would consent to a correct settlement of the Peace Treaty? Did President Wilson have any right to lead them so to believe?

Did the President speak without due consideration when he told Senator Spencer that he was "perfectly content to leave to the voters of Missouri which of us is telling the truth"? Is or is there not a question of veracity involved? How do you explain your answer?

If the United States should join the League of Nations as arranged by the Treaty of Versailles, would any decision of the League to use military force involving the United States necessarily be subject to the decision of our Congress? If so, would that decision be morally determined by others in advance? What is your proof?

What is your opinion of what The Outlook says in the last paragraph of its comment under the heading "The President and Senator Spencer"?

Famine in China

China is by nature one of the most richly endowed countries of the world. How, then, do you account for the frequent famines that come to China?

On what occasions has the United States shown herself the real friend of China?

In case of famine should any country helping another receive pay for the help rendered?

[1] These questions and comments are designed not only for the use of current events classes and clubs, debating societies, teachers of history and English, and the like, but also for discussion in the home and for suggestions to any reader who desires to study current affairs as well as to read about them. —THE EDITORS.

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THE NATION'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Believing that the advance of business is a subject of vital interest and importance, The Outlook will present under the above heading frequent discussions of subjects of industrial and commercial interest. This department will include paragraphs of timely interest and articles of educational value dealing with the industrial upbuilding of the Nation. Comment and suggestions are invited.

WALL STREET AND LIBERALISM

A NEW VIEW OF THE PROBLEMS AND DUTIES OF AMERICAN CAPITALISTS

BY GEORGE E. ROBERTS

Vice-President of the National City Bank of New York

MR. GUY EMERSON is one of the younger bankers of New York, although vice-president of a leading institution. He played an important part in the organization of the Liberty Loan campaigns, and to one who knows of the zeal and fervor with which he threw himself into that work there is a suggestion that a rather unusual book[1] which he has just published is an after-product inspired by those patriotic labors and experiences. Certain it is that he writes as one profoundly impressed not only with the need for a better understanding between all classes of Americans, but with the possibility of bringing about such an understanding. He writes as one who is connected upon one side by his daily work with the financial district which has been looked upon as representing the "money power" of the country. On the other hand, he has just been engaged in a task which brought him into close touch with every community of this State, and every element in this great city, where the enemies of our social order are supposed to be in menacing force. He is fully alive to the gravity of the existing social problem, so much disturbed by it that he has felt impelled to write this book; but, like every one else who has had real contact with all classes of American life, he is perfectly sure that the problem is due almost wholly to want of knowledge of each other. He knows that the men who make up the Wall Street community are as fine a group as can be found in the country—as patriotic, as honorable, and as truly concerned for the common interests—and that the business of Wall Street, instead of being mainly speculative and parasitic, as many people believe, is intimately related to the industry and trade of the country. He describes briefly the services of the great banking institutions and the functions of the Stock Exchange in making a public market for securities, and directs attention to the many useful activities which originate among the men identified with Wall Street. "The fundamentals of Wall Street," he says, "are sound," and adds:

> For, if there is any part of America which is fundamentally American, it is Wall Street. Here, if anywhere, the pioneer spirit still

[1] The New Frontier: A Study of the American Liberal Spirit, Its Frontier Origin and Its Application to Modern Problems. By Guy Emerson. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

Why Teeth Stain

You leave a film-coat on them

Most teeth are dimmed more or less by a film. Smokers' teeth often become darkly coated.

That film makes teeth look dingy, and most tooth troubles are now traced to it.

Millions now combat that film in a new, scientific way. This is to offer a test to you, to show the unique results.

You must end film

The film is viscous—you can feel it with your tongue. It clings to teeth, enters crevices and stays.

Ordinary brushing methods leave much of this film intact. So millions find that well-brushed teeth discolor and decay. You must attack film in a better way, else you will suffer from it.

It is the film-coat that discolors not the teeth. Film is the basis of tartar. It holds food substance which ferments and forms acid. It holds the acid in contact with the teeth to cause decay.

Millions of germs breed in it. They, with tartar, are the chief cause of pyorrhea.

Efficient ways

Dental science, after painstaking research, has developed effective ways to fight film. The world's highest authorities now approve them, after careful tests.

These ways are combined in a dentifrice called Pepsodent. And leading dentists everywhere now advise its daily use. A ten-day tube is being sent to everyone who asks.

Watch these new effects

One ingredient is pepsin. One multiplies the starch digestant in the saliva to dissolve the starch deposits that cling. One multiplies the alkalinity of the saliva to neutralize mouth acids as they form.

Two factors directly attack the film. One keeps the teeth so highly polished that film cannot easily cling.

Pepsodent has brought a new era in teeth cleaning. It fights the tooth destroyers as was never done before.

Send the coupon for a 10-Day Tube. Note how clean the teeth feel after using. Mark the absence of the slimy film. See how teeth whiten as the film-coat disappears.

You will always brush teeth in this new way when you watch the results for a week. Cut out the coupon now.

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Why the Blame Falls on Factory Managers

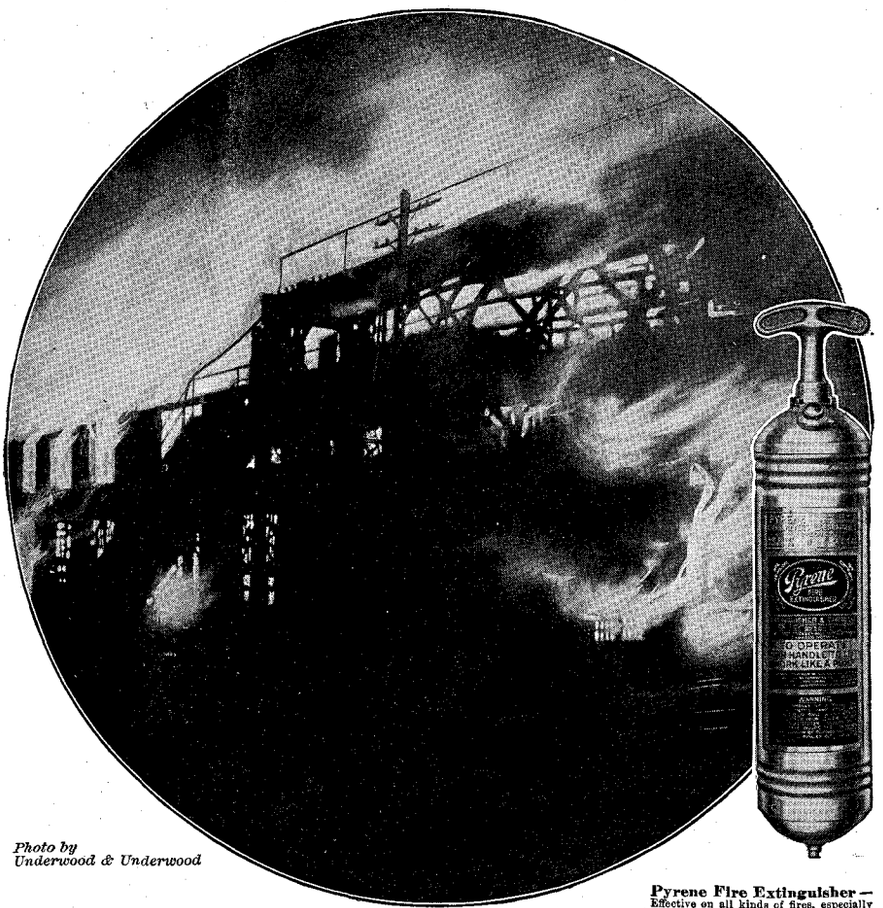

Photo by Underwood & Underwood

Pyrene Fire Extinguisher—Effective on all kinds of fires, especially gasoline, oil and electrical. Approved and labeled by the Underwriters' Laboratories.

WHEN a factory burns, the blame usually falls on one man—the factory manager. It is his duty to guard against the hazard of fire, which can absolutely stop production, destroy materials, wreck the working organization and create financial havoc.

By specifying Pyrene apparatus, the factory manager and purchasing agent protect property and human life; they also guard their own reputations and their employers' interests.

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THE NATION'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

(Continued)

lives. Here is a community where talent and character are recognized as quickly as in any part of the world to-day. Here is a community where the majority of power is in the hands of men whose wealth was not inherited and who do not occupy their positions because of social prestige or influence. The proportion of Wall Street men who were born in New York is small. Side by side are presidents of corporations who started as office boys and others who came out of private schools and great universities. Nearly every State is represented. Most of the officers or directors of the large banks and corporations were born outside of New York City. An analysis of one hundred of the most important names shows that twenty-eight officers of large banks, life insurance companies, telephone and telegraph companies, and express companies were born in cities with a population of more than one million, and of this number, only thirteen were born in New York City. Of the remainder, only thirty men were born in cities of substantial size, leaving forty-two who were born in little towns scattered over the United States, in other words, country boys. These men in their daily life, coming as they do from all parts of the country and being in contact as they are in the course of business with every city and town throughout the entire Nation, may be regarded as fairly representative of the constructive manhood of America, with all its generosity and all its selfishness, with all its conservatism and all its radicalism, with all its boyish love of playing the game, with its predominant strain of liberalism and vigor and fair dealing, that have made this great young country the envy of the world.

With his knowledge of Wall Street and of large business affairs and his confidence that the great body of the people are desirous of nothing but that honest and just methods of business shall prevail, the author sees an enormous loss of social efficiency in the state of misunderstanding which exists.

In his study of the social life of this country and of the ability of our people to deal successfully with the problems which increasing population and a more complex industrial organization inevitably create, Mr. Emerson finds ground for great confidence in the National spirit developed by our experience as a pioneer people upon a new continent. He believes that this experience has been a fundamental and permanent influence in making the National character. Others, of course, have written of this influence, and he quotes from them, particularly Professor Frederick J. Turner and Theodore Roosevelt, to emphasize the value of the exceptional inheritance which we possess; but he dwells upon this history with special attention to the qualities which are required for dealing with the new problems. He does not claim that the American spirit is distinguished from any other national spirit by reason of the exclusive possession of particular qualities. "Other nations," he admits, "have had frontiers," and "national character in other instances has been influenced by restless and vigorous pioneers, but no state or nation, no people, has been, to the same extent, influenced by the elements in human character growing out of the continuous opening up of new country, the repeated seeking out of new homes by the people, the constantly refreshed and perpetuated spirit of reliance upon self as the only stable and permanent element in a constantly shifting environment."

This part of the book is preparatory to his real theme, which is "The New Frontier," by which he means the array of questions problems, and tasks which

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confront the Americans of to-day. He says:

> Is it not evident that the frontier carries a great inspiration lesson for the present generation? The last material frontier has been conquered and the forests have all been explored. The waste lands are all charted and crossed by countless trails, and simply await the necessities of our expanding civilization to be subdued by the mechanical processes of irrigation. Nevertheless, America has just begun to face the test of her strength. A Nation of a few millions of people on the Atlantic coast has expanded into more than a hundred millions, and the very problems of existence are again, as in the frontier day, taxing to the utmost the ingenuity and the self-reliance of our leaders. Was there ever a time when self-reliance was more needed? Are not cheerfulness and the American sense of humor demanded? Was there ever an era in which a continental view-point, a firm reliance upon the orderly processes of democracy, and a high idealism were more vital?

The author believes that the principles of real democracy are thoroughly assimilated by our people, including the great mass of those of foreign birth and parentage, but that democracy with us does not include the idea of equality in the sense that would restrict the abilities and opportunities of all to the limitations of those of lowest capacity. "It ought never be possible in America," he says, "for any group of people to organize millions of men to the extent where individual excellence is kept down by an arbitrary prohibition upon self-realization and personal distinction. We must cling to the individualism of the pioneer spirit, but we must supplement the motto 'Trust thyself' with this other wise counsel, 'Trust thy fellow-man!'

The author holds that the American public is constitutionally "liberal"—that is to say, open-minded and forward looking. It is the hopeful, expectant attitude of the pioneer. It is bred into the sons of a people who have opened up a new country, and who have been always discounting the future. They habitually expect things to change and conditions to improve. They are receptive to new ideas and tolerant of even violent dissenters. No advocate of reform could ask a fairer chance for his theories than he has in the forum and at the ballot-box in America. These are no obstacles to the introduction of any change, however radical, except that the approval of a majority of the people must be obtained. He quotes Morris Hillquit, the Socialist leader of New York, as saying that, "paradoxical as it may seem, our very democracy has militated against the immediate success of Socialism." That is to say, it causes vexatious trouble and delay to be obliged to convert so many people before putting the Socialist doctrines into effect. Hence the "soviet" idea and the attempt to put it into effect at Seattle and Winnipeg. Hence the disposition of the impatient and radical class to defy the Government and resort to violence. It is a reversion from the peaceful methods of democracy and the ballot-box, of reason and enlightened appeal, back to the rule of brute force.

The author is a thorough liberal, and as such has a good word for the radical—in his place; and for the conservative—in his place; which recalls the famous defense of the conservative by Herbert Spencer, himself a thoroughgoing liberal. He taught that there were two opposing forces throughout nature and also in society—heredity and variation; while without variation there can be no advance, without

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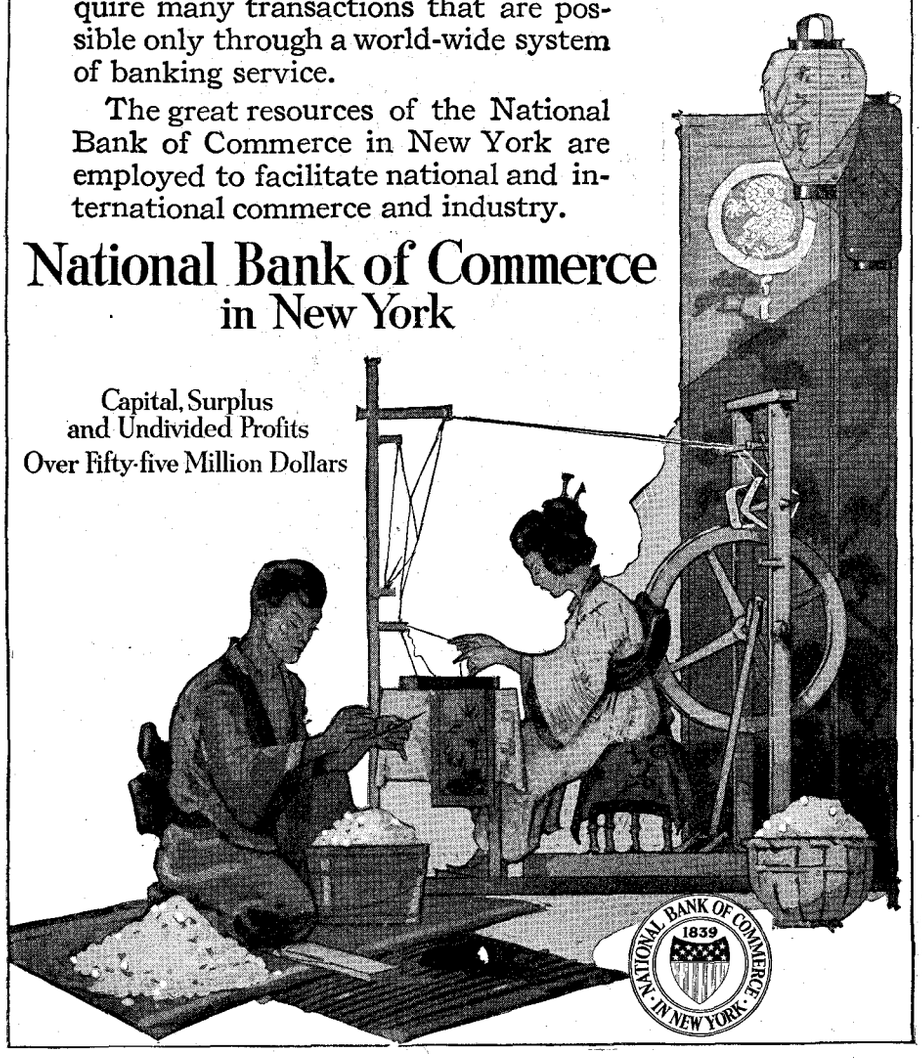

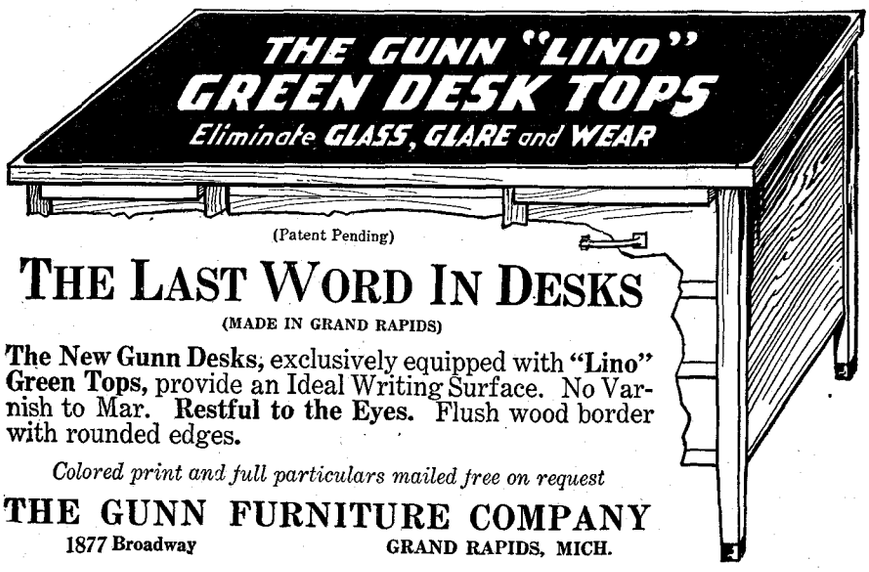

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THE NATION'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

(*Continued*)

heredity there can be no retaining the values won. Safety and progress are attained only by the "interplay of opposed forces." The author says there will always be a good supply of young men who are anxious to reform the world forthwith, and that the supply will never fail of those who enter the world of affairs committed to the preservation of things as they are. "Between these two groups we need men who will see the world as a whole, men who realize that preservation of essential institutions in a changing world means the careful and practical adaptation of those institutions to modern needs. In short, we require men to whom the leaders of industry and government to-day can hand over the great working machinery which mankind has devised to feed and clothe itself under conditions of law and order."

The author believes that American society is permeated with the spirit of progress, but the war has so stimulated the thought and self-consciousness and aspiration of the world that the orderly processes seem too slow for an active minority. He says that the cry of "speed up" touches a responsive chord in every right-minded person, but warns that "it is an inexorable law of progress that great and reasonably lasting changes involving the relationships of men cannot be hastily effected. Any attempt to 'rush' the world simply affords excitement for the impatient. In spite of temporary unrepresentative legislation, in the long run only such reform as has the deep sanction of the minds and hearts of the majority of the people can establish itself as an integral part of what we know as the civilizing process of the race." He calls the efforts of a few to force the reconstruction of society "criminal impatience." "They are children who seek to get what they want by snatching it." He believes, however, in full liberty of speech to the dissenters. Let them win their way by argument, even though it be distorted by ignorant misrepresentation, if they can. "The radical is dangerous only when the liberal is quiescent."

He deprecates the talk of war between capital and labor, pointing out that labor has only to know what it wants and secure unity of action among all who belong in its ranks to have complete control under our system of government.

The author is well disposed toward the idea that the wage-earners should have a more active and responsible part in industry. In this he is supported by the best thought of the business world. There is general assent to the thought that the worker must have an interested and constructive relationship to his work in order that the present industrial order may be maintained and the output of the industries shall suffice to meet the growing wants of the population. He presents the concrete facts of the industrial situation in the following statement:

> There are already too many people in the world to be provided for adequately by the bare resources of nature. Population grows at a rapid pace, and while during the past century and a quarter the development of new natural resources and of new technical arts has increased faster than population, it is none the less true that in most parts of the world population is actually pressing close upon the minimum of subsistence, and, for a considerable part of the world, population is too great for comfort. In the United States, the richest country of all the world, there is still not

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enough to go around. We have felt this increasingly during the war, but it was true before the war. Approximately ninety million people of the United States, exclusive of outlying possessions, received an income in 1910 of somewhat more than $30,000,000,000, including all wages, interest, profits, and rents. It is estimated that about $2,500,000,000 of this was taken for the support of Federal, State, and local governments. At least $4,000,000,000 more was taken for additions to the productive equipment or capital of the country. This leaves not over $24,000,000,000 for current consumption during the year, which gives $260 per person or $1,300 a year for a family of five. The richest country in the whole world is not very rich.

These are the conditions with which society has to deal. Whatever ideas one may have about ideal conditions, we are confronted with the stern fact that the changes must be accomplished without diminishing the industrial product. With human nature as we know it, at present society cannot afford to reduce the incentives to personal exertion, nor can it afford not to make full use of the individuals who have exceptional talents in any line. It is upon this consideration that the right to choose one's own work and all the rights of private property are based. Most of us cannot conceive of the activities of one hundred million people being stimulated and directed upon any other basis.

There is a general desire among the leaders of large industry that wage-earners shall be interested in the business by which they are employed, and how that effective interest shall be secured is being studied in thousands of establishments. Evidently the relationship must be of a more or less permanent character. It cannot be allowed that the man who has no permanent interest in a business, who has made no sacrifice for its upbuilding, who is free to leave at will, shall have the same voice in its management as a man who has devoted a portion of his earnings to the purchase of an interest in the property. The one has a stake in the future of the business and the other has not. The difference between their relations is fundamental. The desirable line of advance appears to be by what some one has called the "peopleization" of the industries—that is, the wide distribution of ownership, and that has been shown to be entirely feasible. The "Railway Age" has lately called attention to the fact that if the railway employees would devote an amount equivalent to their last wage increase to the purchase of stock in the companies they could own a controlling interest in a short time. The action of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in establishing a million-dollar bank at Cleveland is viewed among bankers with favor, upon the belief that the mystery and suspicion which seems to surround banking will disappear if the organized wage-earners are in position to know all about the services which banking renders to the community.

Mr. Emerson's book is written in a fine spirit of sympathy with all sincere efforts to develop the social organization and improve the common lot. There is a chapter upon "Human Resources," which is sufficiently suggestive of its contents; "The Weapons of Truth," which is a plea for the right kind of propaganda; "Fifty Million Capitalists," in which he sets forth his belief that the cure for capitalism is more capitalists; the "American Spirit in World Affairs;" and others, all written with high appeal to social and world obligations.

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Each Puffed Wheat bubble is a whole grain puffed to eight times normal size. A hundred million steam explosions have occurred within it.

Every food cell is exploded, so you see an airy, toasted morsel as flimsy as a snowflake.

Puffed Rice is whole rice puffed in like way. Puffed Corn is broken corn puffed to raindrop size.

The texture is enticing, the flavor is like nuts. The airy granules seem to melt away.

But think what they are

But these delightful bits are grain foods, fitted for digestion as grains never were before. Float the Puffed Wheat grains in milk and you have the greatest food in existence.

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Puffed Wheat **Puffed Rice** **Puffed Corn**

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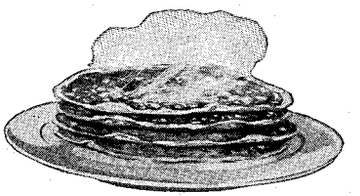

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We now mix Puffed Rice flour in an ideal pancake blend. It makes the pancakes fluffy and gives a nut-like taste. You will surprise your folks with the finest pancakes ever tasted when you use it. Ask for Puffed Rice Pancake Flour. It is self-raising—simply add milk or water.

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NURSERY governess, English, experienced, references, wishes position. New York preferred. 9,033, Outlook.

CAPABLE Smith graduate desires position as companion-secretary to woman going to Europe. 9,036, Outlook.

WOMAN with years of experience in house management, child dietetics, and child culture would appreciate home where real worth would be recognized. Best references. 9,037, Outlook.

ADAPTABLE, refined woman wishes position as housekeeper where maids are kept. Companion or entire charge of motherless child. Excellent references. G. Nelson, 3424 Oliver St., Chevy Chase, Washington, D. C.

LADY wishes non-resident position to read to invalid or blind person, research, languages. Would chaperon young ladies. New York City only. 9,038, Outlook.

SOUTHERN woman of refined social standing desires position as companion or chaperon. Experience in nursing and dietetics. Answer particulars, Box 416, Rayville, La.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Companions and Domestic Helpers

COMPANION to young lady, preferably to travel abroad, by woman of refinement, education, varied experience. Best references. 9,071, Outlook.

WOMAN of experience and culture, traveled in this country and abroad, would like executive position in school or will chaperon and travel with private party. 9,067, Outlook.

COMPANION (to young girl preferred) by college graduate, experienced in managing home and servants and in travel through Europe, Japan, Canada, and California. 9,066, Outlook.

WOMAN of culture desires sole management of man's establishment; or act as companion-chaperon to young girl; oversee upbringing of child, etc. Associations appreciated. Highest credentials. Address 12 Arnold Park, Rochester, N. Y.

YOUNG woman of culture desires position as traveling or home companion to lady of refinement. Executive in care of home. 9,046, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Teachers and Governesses

EX-teacher, cultured young woman, desires position tutor-companion to young girl. 9,065, Outlook.

MISCELLANEOUS

TO young women desiring training in obstetrical nursing a thorough course of one year is offered by the Lying-in Hospital, Second Ave. and 17th St., New York. Monthly allowance and maintenance. For further information address Directress of Nurses.

MISS Guthman, New York shopper, will send things on approval. No samples. References. 309 West 99th St.

PRINCETON PRIVATE SCHOOL FOR SPECIAL CHILDREN. Limited to six pupils. Instructors college bred, qualified psychologists and experienced in the care and teaching of subnormals. Satisfactory references. 9,057, Outlook.

CULTURED young lady wishes to join family or lady for winter in Europe. Assumes own expenses. References required. 9,041, Outlook.

MISCELLANEOUS

LANDSCAPE GARDENING. Expert *planting, pruning, grading,* etc. *Supervision,* plans, or advice. Lessons on this delightful work by mail. Heber B. Clewley, Woburn, Mass.

WANTED—Child not under five, preferably in her teens, in refined home 120 miles from New York. Every care and advantage given for reasonable remuneration. 9,058, Outlook.

I want to "see through" some one who is old and lonely; some one who will make satisfactory financial arrangement in exchange for devoted and loving home care. 9,059, Outlook.

GRAPHOLOGY. Interesting character study. Complete analysis of handwriting made for $5. 9,063, Outlook.

LADY, with home in suburbs of New York, desires charge and education of one or two children. Terms must be liberal for advantages offered. Mrs. de Podesta, Dongan Hills, Staten Island.

UNITARIAN FREE LITERATURE. Address Mrs. Helen Whiton, Hingham Center, Mass.

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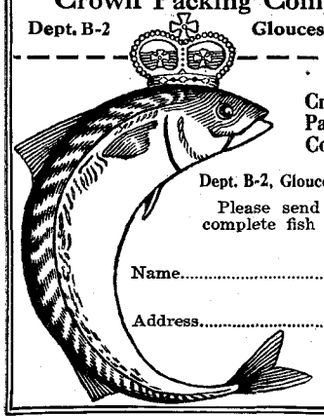

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APOLOGIES TO DIAMOND

It grieves me beyond description or narration to be obliged to call your attention to the fact that you have been guilty of cruelty to animals. No, I am not an anti-vivi. I believe in "live and let live," but no one should be maligned, especially when one is a dear, dead dog, beyond recall. To explain:

The article in your issue of September 15 entitled "How To Lose Your Temper" caused me to lose mine, and I shall proceed to follow the seven rules. Rule four says: To the right person. And, Outlook, you are always right. Therefore let me address you in behalf of Diamond, the darling dog of Sir Isaac Newton.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, he did not tear the famous manuscript to pieces, as the writer of this admirable article asserts. (See page 117.) Sir Isaac Newton lived in the light of other days, and I believe that on this memorable occasion a tallow dip was burning on his table. Wearied by ceaseless labors, he had strolled forth to breathe the balmy airs. Diamond came to himself after a delicious nap, according to his custom, on his master's table. He opened one eye, and, missing the gentle sage, sprang lightly to his feet, in so doing overturned the candle, and the dry material ignited and was consumed by the flames. Now Diamond was a well-bred dog, and would no more have thought of tearing these scientific treasures to bits than you would think of tearing up your editorials for next month. JOYCE E. LOBNER.

Oakland, California.

IS CHIVALRY DEAD?

In a recent number of your magazine there was something about the propriety of men's ceasing to give up their seats to women in cars.

Perhaps you can tell us where it is now usual for men to show this courtesy except to women of their acquaintance.

In 1890-3 I was often in New York, and the nearest I came to experiencing such a thing was to have a man poke me in the back to make me look around and see a seat just vacated. At that time in Baltimore it was customary for women of a certain social position to be treated with great courtesy in this regard, and also in the West, as in Chicago.

These cities have long since ceased to follow this plan, and I have heard that it continues only in the far West, which shows that men do not lose their chivalry when they develop their ability for fair play. It was in a State where women had not even the school vote that I was once pushed aside that a man many years my junior might take the seat in which I was just sitting down. One or two looked surprised; but no remarks were made.

HELEN LOVELL MILLION.

Mexico, Missouri.

ONLY TOO COMMON

Throughout our Eastern States there are thousands of attractive nooks which would seem to invite the automobile tourist to tarry and eat his lunch. Should he stop, he finds perhaps a cool pine grove, but the ground is littered with old paper boxes, olive bottles, sardine cans, and discarded food.

Is this condition common in other parts of the country? Cannot tourists be persuaded to clean up and to respect the comfort of those who will follow after?

Groton, Massachusetts. C. A. SHAW.

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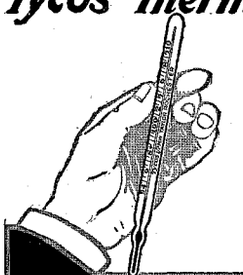

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WASHINGTON'S PRAYER FOR THE NATION

RECENTLY there was placed upon the beautiful altar of the Washington Memorial Chapel at Valley Forge an exquisitely illuminated copy of Washington's prayer for the Nation:

"Almighty God: We make our earnest prayer that Thou wilt keep the United States in Thy holy protection; that Thou wilt incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government: and entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another and for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large.

"And finally that Thou wilt most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion and without a humble imitation of whose example in these things we can never hope to be a happy nation.

"Grant our supplication, we beseech thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Every day at noon a litany and prayers for the Nation are said in the chapel, and it is inspiring to think that day and night this petition of the Father of our Country makes thus its silent appeal.

Would it not be possible for every church throughout the United States to place upon its altar or wall one of the excellent copies of this illumination to be a constant reminder to its congregation of the spirit in which our great leader accomplished his task and that "no spot on earth—not the plains of Marathon, nor the passes of Sempach, nor the place of the Bastile, nor the dikes of Holland, nor the moors of England, is so sacred in the history of the struggle for human liberty as Valley Forge."

The copies may be obtained for twenty-five cents each by applying to the Secretary of the Valley Forge Museum, and the proceeds would add substantially to the funds for completing the buildings planned for this "Westminster Abbey of America" which is already become one of our most sacred shrines.

E. W. T. SMITH.

Phœnixville, Pennsylvania.

"INSTRUCTIVE AND CONVINCING"

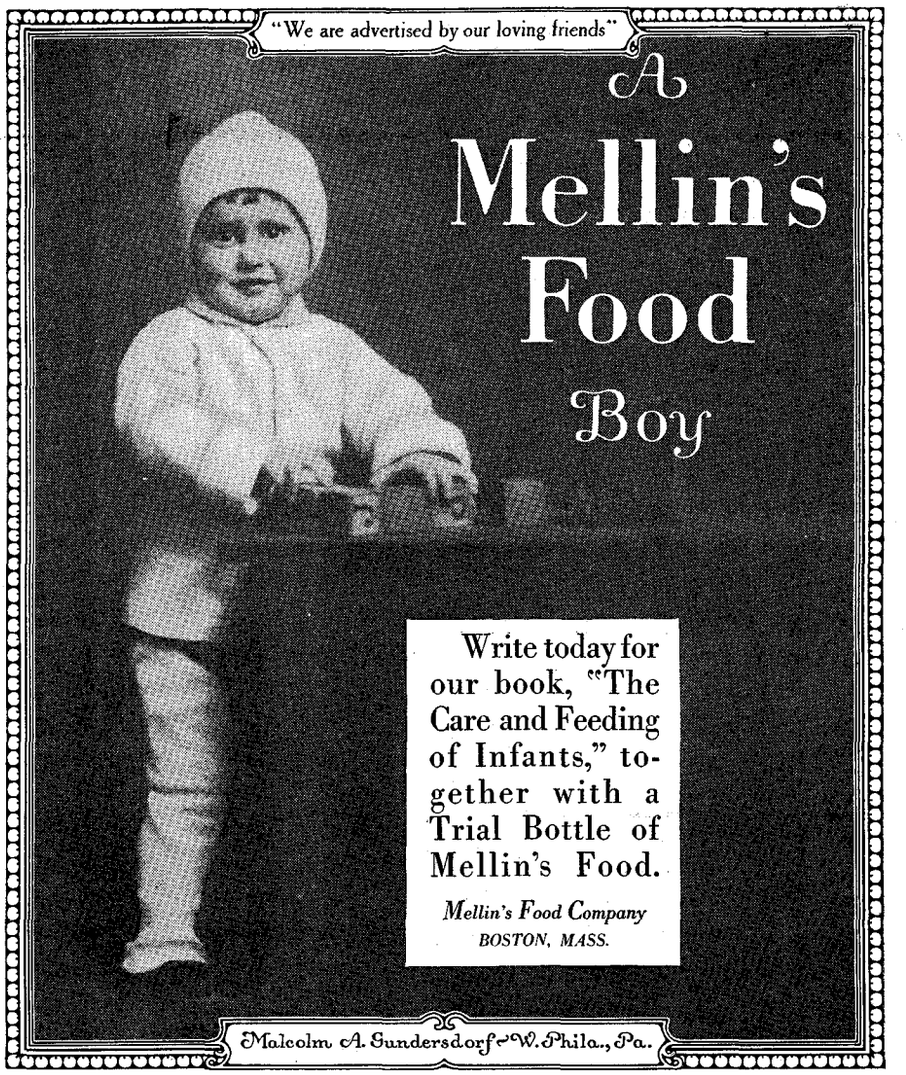
I WANT to give you my hearty approval of the spirit and courage of The Outlook in standing in these troublesome times for the truth unfettered and unmuzzled. Many to-day are afraid of the truth. They know what is right, but fear to be righteous.

I have been deeply interested in your stand on social and industrial problems. You are right in your attitude. You have a fine exponent of the truth in Sherman Rogers. His articles in The Outlook are instructive and convincing. His spoken addresses are of equal merit.

His talks here have been beneficial. He knows his subject, and tells it in a forceful, natural, and compelling way. He caters to no faction or class. He has brought no new doctrine for our consideration, but has restated the gospel of mutual confidence and respect, of trust and friendliness, with a freshness, vigor, and candor that have won approval and emphasized anew the practicability of kindness and confidence as the basis of mutual understanding between employer and employee.

EVERETT SMITH.

Superior Court of the State of Washington for the County of King, Judges' Chambers, Seattle, Washington.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BY THE WAY

"My little nephew, age five, indulges in some really topsy-turvy pronunciation. He calls me 'Mary Auntie,' says 'casesuit' for suitcase, and calls caterpillars 'pillarcats.' He seems just naturally to get things reversed in his verbal adventures."

"A woman, speaking of an occurrence which came to her knowledge, remarked, 'I don't blame him; I lay it all to propaganity' (propinquity)."

"A lady, discussing the merits of a physician of her acquaintance, said, 'He isn't a canceltating physician, he is just a general practioneer.'"

"We live on the same street as the George Washington University. A package came which did not belong to us. I asked the janitress about it and she said, 'Oh, no, that belongs to the *Universe*.'"

"At an association meeting I heard one man speak of another as 'not legible for membership.'"

"An old colored preacher admonished his flock, at a burial, thus: 'As we stand around this open *sel*pucher, let us all *dis*solve to do better."

"I assigned as a class theme 'A bonfire.' A New England boy produced a piece on a fire in a barn. Later he made horseback rhyme with mossback. Do some New Englanders omit r from their pronunciation machinery?"

"Speaking now of odd given names, here is one: The mother of a colored girl who had been absent from school wrote this note: 'Please excuse Pearline from being absent. She had to help me with the washing.'"

A story of Lucretia Mott told in a recent book called "Great-Hearted Women" well illustrates "the irresistible might of meekness." At a New York City anti-slavery convention rioters broke up the meeting and roughly handled some of the speakers. Some of the women members of the convention were badly frightened. Mrs. Mott turned to her escort and said, "Won't thee look after the others?" "But who will take care of you?" The Quaker lady smiled sweetly. "This man will see me through," she replied, putting her hand on the arm of one of the roughest of the mob. And he did, not only through the mob but to the house where she was staying.

"If every home would keep a supply of popcorn and a popper convenient," says "Good Health," "fewer nickels would be spent for less wholesome knickknacks and more enjoyable evenings would be spent around the family hearth." These suggestions are made to insure successful results: Good corn and a hot fire; a small quantity of corn in the popper; the popper to be held high so that the corn will not scorch, thus insuring whiteness; a stove-lid to be placed between the popper and the flame to keep the corn from scorching; a degree of heat that will make the corn begin to pop in 1½ minutes. One pint of unpopped corn should give fifteen to twenty pints of popped corn, it is stated.

Frank Tannenbaum, who served a term in prison for unwise labor agitation, tells in the "Atlantic Monthly" that he asked a "lifer," who had had a good opportunity to escape, why he had neglected it. The lifer had been sent out of the prison in

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